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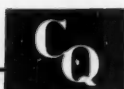
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*The Authoritative Reference on Congress*

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## What's Ahead?

*Dates are listed as released by sources and are sometimes subject to change.*

### Committee Hearings

Dec. 5-9 -- PROFESSIONAL BOXING, Senate Judiciary, Antitrust and Monopoly Subc.

### Political Events

Nov. 8 -- ELECTION DAY.

### Other Events

- Oct. 22-23 -- NATIONAL ASSN. OF INVESTMENT COMPANIES, meeting, Savoy Hilton Hotel, New York.
- Oct. 22-23 -- NATIONAL EXECUTIVE MARKETING CONFERENCE, Roosevelt and Monteleone Hotels, New Orleans.
- Oct. 23-25 -- INDEPENDENT PETROLEUM ASSN. OF AMERICA, annual meeting, Statler Hilton Hotel, Dallas.
- Oct. 23-26 -- NORTH AMERICAN GASOLINE TAX CONFERENCE, LaSalle Hotel, Chicago.
- Oct. 24-28 -- STUDY OF PAY TELEVISION IN HARTFORD, CONN., Federal Communications Commission.
- Oct. 24-26 -- GROCERY MANUFACTURERS OF AMERICA INC., annual meeting, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York.
- Oct. 24-27 -- INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY, symposium on chemical effects of nuclear transformations, Prague, Czechoslovakia.
- Oct. 24-27 -- INSTITUTE OF SANITATION MANAGEMENT, annual conference and show, Sheraton-Cadillac Hotel, Detroit.
- Oct. 24-28 -- INTERNATIONAL ASSN. OF BRIDGE AND STRUCTURAL IRON WORKERS (AFL-CIO), convention, Statler Hilton Hotel, Washington.
- Oct. 25 -- MALAYAN PRIME MINISTER TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN PUTRA, visit to United States.
- Oct. 25 -- LOUISIANA RELIEF CUT, hearing on whether the state's cut of dependent children from relief rolls violated federal law; Health, Education and Welfare Department, Washington.
- Oct. 26-28 -- NATIONAL ASSN. OF MOTOR BUS OWNERS INC., convention, Boca Raton Hotel, Boca Raton, Fla.
- Nov. 3-5 -- PUBLIC RELATIONS SOCIETY OF AMERICA, 13th national conference, Conrad Hilton Hotel, Chicago.
- Nov. 9-12 -- NATIONAL OIL JOBBERS COUNCIL, annual meeting, Morrison Hotel, Chicago.
- Nov. 10-13 -- FIRST INTER-AMERICAN MARIAN CONGRESS, meeting of Roman Catholic priests and laymen from Latin America, United States and Canada, Buenos Aires.
- Nov. 13-16 -- NATIONAL ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGE CONTROL ASSN., 23rd annual convention, Americana Hotel, Miami Beach.
- Nov. 13-16 -- NATIONAL LICENSED BEVERAGE ASSN., 11th annual convention, Stardust Hotel, Las Vegas.
- Nov. 14-16 -- AMERICAN PETROLEUM INSTITUTE, 40th annual meeting, Conrad Hilton, Palmer House and Congress Hotels, Chicago.
- Nov. 14-16 -- 47th NATIONAL FOREIGN TRADE CONVENTION, National Foreign Trade Council, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York.
- Nov. 14-18 -- AIR LINE PILOTS ASSN. (AFL-CIO), convention, Carillon Hotel, Miami Beach.
- Nov. 15 -- NATIONAL ASSN. OF HOME BUILDERS, regional mortgage clinic and rental housing conference, Dupont Plaza Hotel, Miami Beach.
- Nov. 15-17 -- BUILDING RESEARCH INSTITUTE, fall conference, Shoreham Hotel, Washington.
- Nov. 16-18 -- NATIONAL RECLAMATION ASSN., convention, Bakersfield, Calif.
- Nov. 26-30 -- AMERICAN MUNICIPAL ASSN., 37th annual congress, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York.
- Nov. 27-Dec. 1 -- NATIONAL MILK PRODUCERS FEDERATION, 44th annual convention, New Orleans.
- Nov. 27-Dec. 1 -- POPULAR PRICE SHOE SHOW OF AMERICA, National Assn. of Shoe Chain Stores, New Yorker and Sheraton-Atlantic Hotels, New York, N.Y.
- Nov. 27-30 -- NATIONAL ASSN. OF FOOD CHAINS, 27th annual meeting, Americana Hotel, Miami Beach.
- Nov. 28-Dec. 1 -- VEGETABLE GROWERS ASSN. OF AMERICA, annual convention, Schroeder Hotel, Milwaukee.
- Nov. 30-Dec. 3 -- SIGMA DELTA CHI, PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTIC FRATERNITY, 51st convention, Biltmore Hotel, New York.

Editor and President: Henrietta and Nelson Poynter.

Executive Editor: Thomas N. Schroth.

Senior Writers: Elizabeth J. Brenner, Robert C. Keith, William A. Korn, Helene C. Monberg, Neal R. Peirce, Spencer A. Rich.

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Publisher: Buel F. Weare.

Business Manager: Walter E. Thomas.

Production Supervisor: Walter W. Conklin, Jr.

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## PARTIES OPPOSED ON 42 PERCENT OF 1960 ROLL CALLS

Despite the usual election-year tendency to close ranks and display more partisanship in Congress, an opposite trend appeared in Congressional Quarterly's study of Party Unity in 1960, as follows:

- The percentage of roll calls on which a majority of Democrats in both chambers opposed a majority of Republicans decreased from 50 percent in 1959 to 42 percent in 1960. In the previous Presidential election year, 1956, party majorities disagreed on 50 percent of the roll calls.

- Democrats, with two-to-one majorities in the 86th Congress, prevailed on 88 of the 125 partisan showdowns in 1960 -- on 53 in the Senate and 35 in the House. Republican majorities were on the winning side -- always with the help of substantial Democratic defections -- on 23 roll calls in the Senate and 14 in the House.

- The average Republican Member voted with his party majority 68 percent of the time in 1960; the average Democratic Member, 64 percent of the time, when the two majorities were opposed.

### Party Discipline

Party discipline in Congress is buffeted by "conservative" and "liberal" cross-currents as well as sectional interests. Often a "party line" is known on a roll-call vote, but just as often Members find reasons to ignore it. Leaders themselves sometimes stray from their majority. For example, in 1960 Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (D Texas), the Vice Presidential nominee of his party, found himself in the Democratic minority on 12 of the 76 Senate Party Unity roll calls. Senate Minority Leader Everett McKinley Dirksen (R Ill.) voted against his party's majority on 11 of the 76 showdown roll calls.

For this reason CQ uses the automatic device of selecting, as Party Unity roll calls, all votes in which the result shows a majority of one party in opposition to a majority of the other party. The respective majorities, of course, may and do range from unanimity to one more than one-half of the party members present and voting.

### Defections

Of the 76 roll calls in the Senate where a Democratic majority opposed a Republican majority, the Democrats prevailed 53 times and the Republicans 23 times. All 23 of the Democratic losses could have been avoided if one or more Democratic Senators had not defected from the majority. Half (26) of the Republican losses might have been avoided but for the defection of Republican Senators from their majority.

Similarly, in the House, 16 of the 36 Republican majority's losses could have been avoided if there were fewer Republican defectors. All of the 14 Democratic losses could have been victories were strict party discipline maintained.

The first important loss by the Republican majority in the Senate occurred Feb. 4 when nine Republicans

### Definitions

- **PARTY UNITY ROLL CALLS** -- Roll-call votes that split the parties, a majority of voting Democrats opposing a majority of voting Republicans. Roll calls on which either party divides evenly are excluded.

- **PARTY UNITY SCORES** -- Percentage of Party Unity roll calls on which a Member votes "yea" or "nay" in agreement with a majority of his party. Failures to vote, even if a Member announces his stand, lower his score. (For names of Members missing one or more 1960 roll calls because of their illness or illness or death in their families, see CQ Week Report p. 1685.)

- **OPPOSITION TO PARTY SCORES** -- Percentage of Party Unity roll calls on which a Member votes "yea" or "nay" in disagreement with a majority of his party. A Member's Party Unity and Opposition to Party scores add to 100 percent only if he voted on all Party Unity roll calls.

failed to join 22 of their colleagues in voting against passage of a bill to provide federal aid to school construction and teachers' salaries. As a result the bill passed 51-34 (D 42-12; R 9-22). Had the nine voted "nay" with their 22 colleagues, the bill would have failed, 42-43. President Eisenhower opposed the bill.

On the Democratic side, just enough Democratic defectors appeared on two important aid-to-education roll calls Feb. 3 to cause a tie, 44-44, on each, thus frustrating the intent of the majority of Democratic Senators. In the first case, a majority of the Democratic Senators voted in favor of an amendment to the school bill to authorize \$1.1 billion per year for an indefinite period for school construction and teachers' salaries. The amendment was rejected, 44-44 (D 39-17; R 5-27). Immediately following that vote, a motion was made to reconsider it, whereupon Sen. Dirksen moved to table, or kill, the motion to reconsider. Again a 44-44 (D 16-40; R 28-4) tie developed and Vice President Richard M. Nixon nailed down the tabling motion by casting the necessary "yea" to break the tie. Had any one of the 16 Democrats who voted for the motion cast his vote with the majority of Democrats, it would have been rejected. (For voting, see CQ Weekly Report p. 217)

In the House, as many as 77 to 112 Democrats left the majority of Democrats to join the majority of Republicans to carry roll calls on a variety of issues. For example, on June 8, 112 Democrats voted with a majority of Republicans to restrict debate on a debt ceiling and excise tax bill. The majority of Democrats -- 133 -- had wanted to keep the debate open for amendments, but the limiting rule passed 204-181 (D 112-133; R 92-48).

On the other side, a majority of House Republicans lost a roll call on passage of a depressed areas bill May 4 when 23 Republicans joined a majority of Democrats on the vote. It passed 202-184 (D 179-69; R 23-115).

## Party Unity Scoreboard

The table below shows the proportion of Party Unity roll calls in 1960, 1959, 1958, 1957 and 1956.

	Total Roll Calls	Party Unity Roll Calls	Percent of Total
<b>1960</b>			
BOTH CHAMBERS	300	125	42%
Senate	207	76	37
House	93	49	53
<b>1959</b>			
BOTH CHAMBERS	302	151	50%
Senate	215	103	48
House	87	48	55
<b>1958</b>			
BOTH CHAMBERS	293	124	42%
Senate	200	87	44
House	93	37	40
<b>1957</b>			
BOTH CHAMBERS	207	97	47%
Senate	107	38	36
House	100	59	59
<b>1956</b>			
BOTH CHAMBERS	203	101	50%
Senate	130	69	53
House	73	32	44

## 1960 Victories, Defeats

	Senate	House	Total
Dems Won, GOP Lost	53	35	88
GOP Won, Dems Lost	23	14	37
Dems Voted Unanimously	2	0	2
GOP Voted Unanimously	2	0	2

## Party Scores

Party Unity and Opposition to Party scores below are composites of individual scores, and show the percentage of time the average Democrat and Republican voted with his party majority in disagreement with the other party's majority. Failures to vote tend to lower both Party Unity and Opposition to Party scores.

	1960		86th CONGRESS	
	DEM.	GOP	DEM.	GOP
<b>PARTY UNITY</b>				
Both Chambers	64%	68%	70%	72%
Senate	60	64	64	69
House	65	70	72	73
<b>OPPOSITION TO PARTY</b>				
Both Chambers	22%	22%	19%	18%
Senate	22	22	21	20
House	22	21	18	18

## Regional Scores

Party Unity scores, by region, for 1960:

	East	West	South	Midwest
<b>DEMOCRATS</b>				
Both Chambers	69%	72%	52%	74%
Senate	67	69	50	63
House	70	76	52	77
<b>REPUBLICANS</b>				
Both Chambers	64%	76%	65%	70%
Senate	66	68	55	63
House	63	79	68	73

Opposition to Party scores, by region, for 1960:

	East	West	South	Midwest
<b>DEMOCRATS</b>				
Both Chambers	19%	11%	33%	16%
Senate	20	12	34	16
House	19	10	32	15
<b>REPUBLICANS</b>				
Both Chambers	25%	17%	26%	20%
Senate	23	21	26	21
House	25	16	26	20

## Individual Scores

Highest Party Unity scorers -- those who voted with their party majority most consistently in 1960:

Democrats	SENATE	Republicans
Engle (Calif.)	89%	Hickenlooper (Iowa) 88%
Moss (Utah)	87	Bennett (Utah) 82
Jackson (Wash.)	86	Cotton (N.H.) 80
Bartlett (Alaska)	86	Dirksen (Ill.) 79
Long (Hawaii)	84	Prouty (Vt.) 76
Magnuson (Wash.)	84	Dworshak (Idaho) 76

Democrats	HOUSE	Republicans
Bass (Tenn.)	94%	Ostertag (N.Y.) 96%
Perkins (Ky.)	92	Derounian (N.Y.) 96
Breeding (Kan.)	92	Teague (Calif.) 96
Sisk (Calif.)	92	Taber (N.Y.) 94
Saund (Calif.)	92	Becker (N.Y.) 94
Johnson (Wis.)	90	Lipscomb (Calif.) 94
Brooks (Texas)	90	Ray (N.Y.) 92
Ullman (Ore.)	90	Van Pelt (Wis.) 90
Porter (Ore.)	90	Robison (N.Y.) 90
Randall (Mo.)	90	Nelsen (Minn.) 90
Stubblefield (Ky.)	90	Cederberg (Mich.) 90
Natcher (Ky.)	90	
Denton (Ind.)	90	
Aspinall (Colo.)	90	
Johnson (Calif.)	90	

Highest Opposition to Party scorers -- those who voted against their party majority most consistently in 1960:

Democrats	SENATE	Republicans
Lausche (Ohio)	70%	Smith (Maine) 43%
Byrd (Va.)	61	Cooper (Ky.) 42
Holland (Fla.)	59	Case (N.J.) 41
Thurmond (S.C.)	59	Kuchel (Calif.) 38
McClellan (Ark.)	58	Javits (N.Y.) 38
Robertson (Va.)	54	Young (N.D.) 36

Democrats	HOUSE	Republicans
Haley (Fla.)	73%	Fulton (Pa.) 65%
Dorn (S.C.)	67	O'Konski (Wis.) 61
Abbitt (Va.)	67	Corbett (Pa.) 61
Murray (Tenn.)	67	Halpern (N.Y.) 57
Winstead (Miss.)	67	*Rogers (Mass.) 57
Ashmore (S.C.)	63	Baker (Tenn.) 53
Colmer (Miss.)	63	Saylor (Pa.) 53
Davis (Ga.)	63	
Flynt (Ga.)	61	*Deceased
Williams (Miss.)	61	



## Party Unity-Opposition Scores

### Senate Party Unity - 1960 and 86th Congress

1. PARTY UNITY, 1960. Percentage of 76 Senate Party Unity roll calls in 1960 on which Senator voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with a majority of his party. (Party Unity roll calls are those on which a majority of voting Democrats opposed a majority of voting Republicans. Failures to vote lower both Party Unity and Party Opposition scores.)
2. PARTY OPPOSITION, 1960. Percentage of 76 Senate Party Unity roll calls in 1960 on which Senator voted "yea" or "nay" in disagreement with a majority of his party.
3. PARTY UNITY, 86th Congress. Percentage of 179 Senate Party Unity roll calls in 1959 and 1960 on which Senator voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with a majority of his party.
4. PARTY OPPOSITION, 86th Congress. Percentage of 179 Senate Party Unity roll calls in 1959 and 1960 on which Senator voted "yea" or "nay" in disagreement with a majority of his party.

#### HEADNOTES

\*Not eligible for all roll calls during the period of the study.

--Not a Senator during the period of the study.

‡Died after the end of the 1960 session.

	1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4
<b>ALABAMA</b>					<b>INDIANA</b>					<b>NEBRASKA</b>					<b>PARTY UNITY</b>				
Hill	62	17	71	16	Hartke	83	4	76	8	Curtis	71	21	80	16	1960 Session				
Sparkman	55	17	68	15	Capehart	46	11	50	16	Hruska	66	12	75	10	and 86th Congress				
<b>ALASKA</b>					<b>IOWA</b>					<b>NEVADA</b>									
Bartlett	86	8	86	9	Hickenlooper	88	8	87	7	Bible	74	16	68	20					
Gruening	83	11	82	8	Martin	50	17	70	12	Cannon	71	14	77	16					
<b>ARIZONA</b>					<b>KANSAS</b>					<b>NEW HAMPSHIRE</b>									
Hayden	36	32	52	30	Carlson	74	18	71	16	Bridges	63	9	68	7	<b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b>				
Goldwater	58	13	67	11	Schoeppel	57	24	68	17	Cotton	80	7	84	8	Johnston	63	28	74	21
<b>ARKANSAS</b>					<b>KENTUCKY</b>					<b>NEW JERSEY</b>					Thurmond	34	59	32	65
Fulbright	41	37	60	28	Cooper	49	42	54	39	Williams	75	18	80	14	<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b>				
McClellan	37	58	37	53	Morton	61	11	73	11	Case	53	41	61	33	Case	62	33	58	21
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>					<b>LOUISIANA</b>					<b>NEW MEXICO</b>					Mundt	63	24	68	25
Engle	89	7	91	6	Ellender	46	47	53	34	Anderson	55	14	60	20	<b>TENNESSEE</b>				
Kuchel	59	38	67	27	Long	63	32	55	19	Chavez	45	16	47	15	Gore	78	11	79	8
<b>COLORADO</b>					<b>MAINE</b>					<b>NEW YORK</b>					Kefauver	49	7	64	7
Carroll	82	9	84	10	Muskie	62	20	67	17	Javits	51	38	52	40	<b>TEXAS</b>				
Allott	67	24	74	20	Smith	57	43	65	35	Keating	63	33	70	28	Johnson	78	16	76	18
<b>CONNECTICUT</b>					<b>MARYLAND</b>					<b>NORTH CAROLINA</b>					Yarborough	82	5	83	4
Dodd	74	17	69	16	Beall	62	21	68	17	Ervin	51	42	52	42	<b>UTAH</b>				
Bush	75	12	83	8	Butler	63	21	74	13	Jordan	45	36	50	34	Moss	87	4	83	7
<b>DELAWARE</b>					<b>MASSACHUSETTS</b>					<b>NORTH DAKOTA</b>					Bennett	82	9	82	8
Frear	46	47	45	40	Kennedy	47	1	60	6	Burdick	80*	0*	--	--	<b>VERMONT</b>				
Williams	74	22	82	13	Saltonstall	64	17	72	18	Young	55	36	53	35	Aiken	74	24	66	27
<b>FLORIDA</b>					<b>MICHIGAN</b>					<b>OHIO</b>					Prossy	76	20	77	18
Holland	37	59	35	60	Hart	74	16	83	12	Lausche	30	70	22	78	<b>VIRGINIA</b>				
Smathers	33	29	44	28	McNamara	68	13	77	11	Young	72	9	77	13	Byrd	21	61	15	67
<b>GEORGIA</b>					<b>MINNESOTA</b>					<b>OKLAHOMA</b>					Robertson	34	54	32	60
Russell	38	41	35	44	Humphrey	58	3	64	6	Kerr	55	17	64	21	<b>WASHINGTON</b>				
Talmadge	42	41	50	42	McCarthy	76	14	82	9	Monroney	74	16	79	11	Jackson	86	13	85	13
<b>HAWAII</b>					<b>MISSISSIPPI</b>					<b>OREGON</b>					Magnuson	84	5	81	9
Long	84	7	84*	5*	Eastland	36	36	37	46	Morse	76	11	83	7	<b>WEST VIRGINIA</b>				
Fong	67	22	67*	24*	Stennis	43	51	43	54	Lusk	52*	38*	--	--	Byrd	75	17	83	13
<b>IDAHOW</b>					<b>MISSOURI</b>					<b>PENNSYLVANIA</b>					Randolph	78	9	79	11
Church	78	13	73	11	Hennings†	20	11	50	11	Clark	76	13	80	14	<b>WISCONSIN</b>				
DuRoiabak	76	21	79	16	Symington	51	4	68	7	Scott	63	16	69	22	Proxmire	80	17	84	13
<b>ILLINOIS</b>					<b>MONTANA</b>					<b>RHODE ISLAND</b>					Wiley	51	28	54	21
Douglas	71	16	75	16	Mansfield	80	12	87	6	Green	63	17	61	18	<b>WYOMING</b>				
Dirksen	79	14	82	10	Murray	43	4	43	2	Pastore	71	24	71	23	McGee	64	13	71	9
															O'Mahoney	24	0	23	1

Democrats in this type; Republicans in Italics

## Party Unity-Opposition Scores

## House Party Unity -- 1960 and 86th Congress

1. PARTY UNITY, 1960. Percentage of 49 House Party Unity roll calls in 1960 on which Representative voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with a majority of his party. (Party Unity roll calls are those on which a majority of voting Democrats opposed a majority of voting Republicans. Failures to vote lower both Party Unity and Party Opposition scores.)
2. PARTY OPPOSITION, 1960. Percentage of 49 House Party Unity roll calls in 1960 on which Representative voted "yea" or "nay" in disagreement with a majority of his party.
3. PARTY UNITY, 86th Congress. Percentage of 97 House Party Unity roll calls in 1959 and 1960 on which Representative voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with the majority of his party.
4. PARTY OPPOSITION, 86th Congress. Percentage of 97 House Party Unity roll calls in 1959 and 1960 on which Representative voted "yea" or "nay" in disagreement with a majority of his party.

## HEADNOTES

\*Not eligible for all roll calls during the period of the study.

--Not a Representative during the period of the study.

‡Died after the end of the 1960 session.

	1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4	
<b>ALABAMA</b>															
3 Andrews	49	27	54	24	25 Kosem	84	6	89	4	<b>HAWAII</b>					
1 Boykin	41	12	56	9	17 King	88	8	92	6	AL Inouye	84	12	87*	10*	
7 Elliott	82	10	81	7	26 Roosevelt	86	8	90	6	<b>IDAHO</b>					
2 Grant	35	20	60	18	21 Hiestand	86	6	90	4	1 Pfost	88	8	92	6	
9 Huddleston	55	45	71	28	22 Holt	84	14	85	11	2 Budge	84	12	90	8	
8 Jones	76	10	82	8	18 Hosmer	88	12	82	14	<b>ILLINOIS</b>					
5 Rains	51	16	70	11	16 Jackson	41	2	55	2	25 Gray	84	16	85	10	
4 Roberts	55	14	67	10	24 Lipscomb	94	6	94	5	21 Mack	76	14	83	10	
6 Selden	57	43	71	29	15 McDonough	86	10	82	7	24 Price	88	12	92	8	
<b>ALASKA</b>					20 Smith	88	10	90	6	23 Shipley	84	10	89	7	
AL Rivers	86	12	92	7	<b>COLORADO</b>					16 Allen	69	20	79	14	
<b>ARIZONA</b>					4 Aspinall	90	8	91	5	17 Arends	69	12	79	10	
2 Udall	69	14	78	10	2 Johnson	82	4	81	6	19 Chipfield	78	16	80	14	
1 Rhodes	84	14	83	12	1 Rogers	53	22	72	15	14 Hoffman	88	12	79	8	
<b>ARKANSAS</b>					3 Chenoweth	57	43	63	37	15 Mason	53	10	64	7	
5 Alford	29	37	49	27	<b>CONNECTICUT</b>					18 Michel	86	10	86	10	
1 Gathings	51	49	60	38	2 Bowles	69	12	79	7	20 Simpson	88	12	89	11	
4 Harris	59	39	70	28	1 Daddario	80	20	75	20	22 Springer	86	14	83	16	
2 Mills	78	22	82	18	3 Giaimo	80	20	77	16	<b>Chicago-Cook County</b>					
6 Norrell	35	49	51	41	4 Irwin	76	20	78	20	12 Vacancy	69	10	81	5	
3 Trimble	78	22	86	14	AL Kowalski	76	16	82	12	1 Dawson	67	18	79	9	
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>					5 Monagan	76	22	72	21	5 Kluczynski	82	18	91	9	
7 Cohelan	84	16	88	10	<b>DELAWARE</b>					7 Libonati	88	12	92	8	
14 Hagen	76	24	79	18	AL McDowell	67	16	77	13	3 Murphy	82	14	90	7	
2 Johnson	90	8	95	4	<b>FLORIDA</b>					2 O'Hara	86	14	93	7	
11 McFall	88	12	91	9	2 Bennett	76	24	74	26	11 Pucinski	82	18	88	12	
1 Miller (C.W.)	73	14	85	9	4 Foscell	82	18	82	18	8 Rostenkowski	84	12	87	7	
8 Miller (G.P.)	71	6	73	5	7 Haley	27	73	36	64	9 Yates	76	16	80	13	
3 Moss	78	16	87	10	5 Herlong	37	41	45	41	13 Church	76	24	80	20	
29 Sound	92	6	91	3	8 Matthews	73	27	76	24	10 Collier	82	14	86	11	
5 Shelley	71	4	68	4	6 Rogers	65	35	68	32	4 Derwinski	80	18	74	13	
27 Sheppard	55	4	64	5	3 Sikes	76	22	65	22	<b>INDIANA</b>					
12 Sisk	92	4	96	2	1 Cramer	78	22	74	19	11 Barr	73	20	73	22	
6 Baldwin	73	27	64	36	<b>GEORGIA</b>					3 Brademas	86	12	90	9	
10 Gubser	80	16	72	16	8 Blitch	39	29	56	23	8 Denton	90	6	85	5	
4 Mailliard	76	22	62	28	10 Brown	55	45	72	28	10 Harmon	59	29	70	19	
13 Teague	96	4	86	6	5 Davis	27	63	41	52	9 Hogan	86	12	87	8	
28 Utt	88	8	91	5	4 Flynt	31	61	40	51	1 Madden	78	14	83	10	
30 Wilson	69	20	74	14	3 Forrester	39	59	56	42	5 Roush	88	10	88	10	
9 Younger	84	4	90	4	7 Landrum	20	45	41	34	6 Wampler	82	10	87	7	
<b>Los Angeles County</b>					9 Mitchell	57	12	73	9	4 Adair	57	12	66	13	
23 Doyle	80	2	90	1	2 Pilcher	33	39	56	25	7 Bray	61	33	64	30	
19 Holifield	78	2	77	3	1 Preston	45	37	54	24	2 Halleck	73	18	79	13	
					6 Vinson	41	31	63	23						

PARTY UNITY  
1960 Session  
and 86th Congress

1 2 3 4

**IOWA**  
6 Coad 78 14 79 11  
5 Smith 84 14 87 12  
2 Wolf 88 10 83 10  
3 Gross 73 27 78 22  
8 Hoeven 88 12 92 8  
7 Jensen 71 27 75 21  
4 Kyl 80 20 -- --  
1 Schwengel 80 18 83 15

**KANSAS**  
5 Breeding 92 8 89 11  
2 George 88 12 89 11  
3 Hargis 76 12 83 8  
1 Avery 65 35 70 29  
4 Rees 78 22 86 14  
6 Smith 57 16 68 16

**KENTUCKY**  
3 Burke 88 12 89 7  
4 Chelf 47 14 64 12  
2 Natcher 90 10 86 14  
7 Perkins 92 8 94 4  
5 Spence 76 10 80 5  
1 Stubblefield 90 10 91 8  
6 Watts 84 10 85 9  
8 Siler 47 37 59 27

**LOUISIANA**  
2 Boggs 67 16 71 13  
4 Brooks 49 47 61 35  
1 Hebert 16 18 45 18  
8 McSweeney 29 37 43 35

Democrats in this type; Republicans in italics

	1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4		
6 Morrison	47	6	52	7	<b>NEBRASKA</b>	3 Brock	53	45	61	67	7 Lennon	37	55	52	41	6 McMillan	35	49	47	39	
5 Passman	49	41	59	29	4 McGinley	65	29	66	27	5 Scott	24	39	40	35	2 Riley	45	47	56	36		
7 Thompson	27	0	39	6	2 Cunningham	67	33	77	23	11 Whitener	49	49	58	38	1 Rivers	43	41	60	27		
3 Willis	35	33	52	26	1 Weaver	53	22	63	22	10 Jonas	71	29	81	19	<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b>	1 McGovern	86	4	88	4	
<b>MAINE</b>					<b>NEVADA</b>	AL Baring	71	6	71	7	<b>NORTH DAKOTA</b>	AL Burdick	57*	7*	75*	7*	2 Berry	84	16	86	14
2 Coffin	73	12	74	14	<b>NEW HAMPSHIRE</b>	2 Bass	67	29	74	22	<b>AL Short</b>	65	14	76	20	<b>TENNESSEE</b>	6 Bass	94	6	91	6
1 Oliver	73	16	86	9	1 Merrow	20	39	28	49	<b>OHIO</b>	9 Ashley	57	12	64	18	9 Davis	49	22	63	13	
3 McIntire	82	10	85	8	<b>NEW JERSEY</b>	11 Addonizio	73	27	78	21	11 Cook	69	24	72	21	8 Everett	61	39	71	29	
<b>MARYLAND</b>					14 Daniels	69	31	78	22	20 Feighan	71	24	74	22	4 Ewins	78	14	72	13		
2 Brewster	65	20	70	21	13 Gallagher	71	20	79	16	18 Hays	73	22	73	15	3 Frazier	53	18	68	13		
4 Fallon	69	24	75	22	10 Rodino	71	27	74	21	19 Kirwan	63	20	70	19	5 Loser	49	43	56	27		
6 Foley	82	18	87	11	4 Thompson	78	12	77	14	17 Levering	82	18	80	20	7 Murray	20	67	33	59		
7 Friedel	76	22	83	14	3 Auchincloss	61	14	74	11	10 Moeller	65	20	62	21	2 Baker	39	53	45	48		
3 Garmatz	80	18	75	13	1 Cabill	71	20	72	20	6 Vacancy					1 Reece	63	24	62	23		
1 Johnson	65	35	62	26	8 Canfield	41	49	31	34	21 Vanik	69	31	75	25	<b>TEXAS</b>	3 Beckworth	76	24	82	18	
5 Lankford	67	18	76	16	6 Dwyer	49	51	60	40	14 Ayres	63	27	68	24	2 Brooks	90	8	92	7		
<b>MASSACHUSETTS</b>					5 Frelinghuysen	73	18	71	16	13 Baumhart	51	24	56	19	17 Burleson	31	33	47	34		
2 Boland	67	27	70	26	2 Glenn	73	14	67	14	8 Betts	86	14	85	13	22 Cusey	82	18	66	24		
13 Burke	76	24	80	19	9 Osmer	78	20	78	18	22 Bolton	84	16	78	10	7 Dowdy	20	49	39	45		
4 Donohue	63	24	71	19	12 Wallbauer	73	27	69	24	16 Bow	78	16	82	10	21 Fisher	47	51	56	35		
7 Lane	76	24	79	19	7 Widnall	69	20	73	19	7 Brown	88	12	90	9	13 Ikard	76	18	81	14		
8 Macdonald	61	20	63	24	<b>NEW MEXICO</b>	AL Montoya	59	4	72	4	12 Devine	80	12	88	7	20 Kilday	69	24	76	20	
12 McCormack	80	12	90	6	<b>NEW YORK</b>	AL Morris	51	12	68	12	15 Henderson	82	12	87	9	15 Kilgore	73	24	71	28	
11 O'Neill	67	14	75	12	41 Dulski	82	16	76	21	2 Hess	55	2	67	3	19 Mahon	76	22	69	29		
3 Philbin	67	20	71	16	30 O'Brien	67	29	58	24	5 Latta	88	12	89	11	1 Patman	88	8	87	9		
6 Bates	84	14	88	11	32 Stratton	53	39	63	33	23 McCulloch	82	16	86	13	11 Poage	65	33	63	25		
1 Conte	57	43	68	32	27 Barry	69	18	77	12	1 Schenck	86	14	89	11	4 Rayburn						
10 Curtis	78	16	78	18	3 Becker	94	2	91	1	1 Scherer	78	16	82	10	18 Rogers	37	24	54	24		
9 Keith	76	18	82	13	2 Derounian	96	2	95	1	<b>OKLAHOMA</b>	3 Albert	86	12	88	7	16 Rutherford	80	18	81	18	
14 Martin	35	29	46	18	26 Dooley	53	16	65	22	2 Edmondson	71	6	83	4	6 Teague	39	12	54	15		
5 Rogerst	33	57	35	54	33 Kilburn	31	2	49	2	5 Jarman	82	18	75	23	8 Thomas	80	8	79	13		
<b>MICHIGAN</b>					40 Miller	49	4	56	5	6 Morris	61	0	79	1	9 Thompson	80	14	86	10		
7 O'Hara	84	14	87	12	39 Ostertag	96	4	98	2	4 Steed	55	6	68	10	10 Thornberry	82	18	83	16		
12 Bennett	41	49	52	42	42 Pillion	84	8	77	8	1 Belcher	78	18	77	16	12 Wright	69	16	73	15		
8 Bentley	35	33	60	20	34 Pirnie	88	10	85	12	<b>OREGON</b>	3 Green	73	14	75	10	14 Young	51	16	70	13	
18 Broomfield	69	29	78	21	43 Goodell	88	12	85*	10*	4 Porter	90	6	86	6	5 Alger	78	14	87	8		
10 Cederberg	90	8	93	5	35 Riehlman	84	10	85	8	2 Ullman	90	10	94	6	<b>UTAH</b>	2 King	71	22	77	20	
6 Chamberlain	53	45	71	28	37 Robison	90	10	92	7	1 Norblad	71	24	77	25	1 Dixon	71	29	77	20		
5 Ford	84	14	80	7	28 St. George	86	0	79	1	<b>PENNSYLVANIA</b>	25 Clark	76	18	80	16	<b>VERMONT</b>	AL Meyer	76	20	82	15
9 Griffin	69	31	78	18	36 Taber	94	6	92	4	21 Dent	78	18	77	14	<b>VIRGINIA</b>	4 Abbitt	33	67	37	63	
4 Hoffman	82	12	73	6	31 Taylor	8	4	30	2	11 Flood	82	18	83	16	1 Downing	39	51	46	39		
3 Johansen	88	12	91	7	1 Wainwright	55	16	57	20	30 Holland	78	20	83	11	3 Gary	43	55	42	56		
11 Knox	65	24	74	20	38 Weiss	80	10	78	13	28 Moorhead	82	16	88	10	2 Hardy	49	49	60	37		
2 Meader	76	16	77	11	29 Wharton	84	10	91	5	26 Morgan	76	16	81	11	7 Harrison	41	47	41	48		
<b>Detroit-Wayne County</b>					<b>New York City</b>	8 Anfuso	55	14	59	7	10 Prokop	80	18	89	10	9 Jennings	73	24	81	16	
13 Diggs	63	16	66	11	24 Buckley	8	2	32	1	19 Quigley	78	12	80	13	8 Smith	31	59	36	58		
15 Dingell	82	18	88	12	11 Celler	53	14	68	7	14 Rhodes	80	18	85	14	5 Tuck	31	57	35	59		
17 Griffiths	78	16	79	16	7 Delaney	69	27	76	20	15 Walter	49	6	59	9	10 Brodybill	78	20	67	22		
16 Lesinski	84	14	78	13	23 Gilbert	60*	33*	---	---	17 Schneebeli	80*	20*	---	---	6 Poff	82	18	88	12		
1 Macrowicz	69	20	69	15	19 Farbstein	69	22	75	13	29 Corbett	35	61	41	56	<b>WASHINGTON</b>	7 Magnuson	59	8	70	9	
14 Rabaut	82	12	71	12	22 Healey	63	16	75	8	8 Curtin	59	41	61	36	5 Horan	71	24	70	26		
<b>MINNESOTA</b>					6 Holtzman	67	29	75	22	9 Dague	61	39	73	22	3 Vacancy						
6 Blatnick	76	12	85	7	10 Kelly	55	10	71	8	12 Fenton	53	43	66	32	4 May	82	14	76	16		
4 Karth	82	16	87	12	9 Keogh	51	10	61	6	23 Fulton	35	65	43	57	1 Pelly	82	10	83	12		
6 Marshall	61	14	62	22	13 Multer	71	10	80	5	24 Kearns	51	41	49	35	6 Tollefson	59	33	56	30		
3 Wier	84	14	88	11	16 Powell	47	10	53	9	13 Lafore	39	6	66	4	2 Westland	82	18	75	14		
7 Andersen	69	29	69	24	14 Rooney	49	16	65	15	7 Milliken	67	33	80	20	<b>WEST VIRGINIA</b>	3 Bailey	80	12	85	10	
1 Quie	71	24	77	20	18 Santangelo	71	14	80	7	16 Mumma	57	27	77	14	4 Hechler	80	20	78	22		
5 Judd	57	33	67	27	20 Teller	73	14	76	7	22 Saylor	43	53	56	41	5 Kee	82	8	83	6		
2 Langen	86	14	81	19	21 Zelenko	57	20	69	12	18 Vacancy					6 Slack	80	16	83	11		
9 Nelsen	90	8	89	10	5 Bosch	86	2	89	2	20 Van Zandt	49	51	57	42	2 Stagers	80	18	85	11		
<b>MISSISSIPPI</b>					12 Dorn	47	49	54	44	<b>Philadelphia</b>	1 Barrett	78	18	81	12	1 Moore	49	47	49	44	
1 Abernethy	41	59	53	46	25 Fino	41	41	45	40	3 Byrne	82	18	86	12	<b>WISCONSIN</b>	1 Flynn	78	10	85	9	
6 Colmer	31	63	41	52	4 Halpern	41	57	48	39	2 Granahan	71	18	78	11	9 Johnson	90	10	93	7		
3 Smith	59	39	68	26	17 Lindsay	53	47	61	39	5 Green	71	18	76	12	2 Kastenmeier	76	22	82	16		
2 Whitten	41	57	42	52	15 Ray	92	8	96	4	4 Nix	73	18	78	12	5 Reuss	82	12	88	9		
4 Williams	29	61	41	45	<b>NORTH CAROLINA</b>	9 Alexander	27	24	42	33	6 Toll	84	16	88	9	4 Zablocki	84	16	85	15	
5 Winstead	29	67	40	53	3 Barden	8	35	22	35	<b>RHODE ISLAND</b>	2 Fogarty	67	20	61	20	8 Byrnes	82	14	89	8	
<b>MISSOURI</b>					1 Bonner	27	14	57	11	1 Forand	41	16	64	14	7 Laird	88	10	85	6		
5 Bolling	82	4	80	2	4 Cooley	41	39	57	25	<b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b>	4 Ashmore	35	63	45	54	10 O'Konski	35	61	35	59	
7 Brown	80	2	82	2	6 Durham	20	33	48	22	3 Dorn	33	67	43	55	6 Van Pelt	90	8	80	7		
9 Cannon	41	33	48	33	2 Fountain	53	43	65	33	5 Hemphill	43	55	57	36	3 Witbrow	41	10	40	13		
8 Carnahan	45	4	67	3	12 Taylor	62*	25*	---	---	<b>WYOMING</b>					AL Thomson	88	12	75	14		
4 Randall	90	6	93*	5*	8 Kitchin	35	57	48	44												
6 Hull	78	18	74	24																	
10 Jones	69	27	58	27																	
11 Karsten	88	12	94	6																	
11 Maulder	78	14	79	10																	
3 Sullivan	80	14	85	12																	
2 Curtis	63	37	71	23																	
<b>MONTANA</b>																					
2 Anderson	39	6	60	6																	
1 Metcalf	69	6	83	4																	

Democrats in this type; Republicans in Italics

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## POLITICAL OUTLOOK IN THE 12 MIDWEST STATES

This is the second of four regional stories on the outlook for the 1960 gubernatorial and Congressional elections. The first article, dealing with the Southern states, appeared in the Oct. 14 CQ Weekly Report, p. 1690.

This article deals with the 12 states of the Midwest -- Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota and Wisconsin.

Subsequent articles in this series will deal with the political outlook in the West and East.

### General Outlook

The 12 Midwestern states this year elect 11 Governors, eight Senators and 129 Representatives. The present lineup in the Midwest is as follows:

	Democrats	Republicans
Governorships	8	4
Senate seats	13	11
House seats	67*	62

\*Includes three vacant seats last held by Democrats.

In 1958, the Democrats made a historic sweep in the Midwest, traditionally the heartland of Republicanism. The Democrats picked up four Governorships, four Republican Senate seats and 23 GOP House seats.

A full-scale farm state revolt against the Administration's agricultural program and Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson was the primary cause of heavy Republican losses in the farm belt, while the recession of 1958 hurt GOP chances.

Many observers believe that the Democrats were so successful in 1958 that they overextended themselves in many Midwestern areas, and may therefore expect modest losses in 1960 -- even if Democratic Presidential candidate John F. Kennedy does well in the Midwest.

This is most clearly reflected in Midwestern House battles. Of the 25 House seats in the Doubtful category according to Congressional Quarterly's survey, 22 are currently in Democratic hands and only 3 are held by Republicans.

Of the 11 Midwestern Governorships up in 1960, seven are currently in Democratic and four in Republican hands. Of the seven Democratic Governorships, five are listed in the Doubtful column. Three of the four Republican Governorships are thought to be in jeopardy.

The Senate seats present the darkest picture for Republican gains. Of the eight Senate seats up for election, four are Republican and four Democratic. Two of the Republican Senate seats and only one of the Democratic Senate seats are listed in the Doubtful column.

### Factors Favoring Republicans

The following factors brighten the picture for Republicans in the Midwest in 1960:

- The clear possibility that the Democrats overextended themselves in 1958 and may expect to lose a

number of their newly-won House seats in traditionally Republican Midwestern areas.

- A trend away from Kennedy and toward Republican Presidential nominee Richard M. Nixon in many Midwestern areas because of antipathy toward Kennedy's Roman Catholic religion. This factor is most apparent in Indiana and Missouri, but also plays an important role in Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, North Dakota and South Dakota, and has been noted in sections of Illinois and Minnesota. Some Midwestern states, of which Iowa is the clearest example, have an unusually large number of Roman Catholics running for Governor or Congress. Protestant voters may, in some areas, "bloc vote" in protest.

- Anticipated Nixon majorities in seven Midwestern states: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, North Dakota and South Dakota. (The race is currently rated a toss-up in Minnesota and Missouri while most observers give Kennedy an edge in Michigan, Ohio and Wisconsin.)

- A reported "cooling off" of the farm issue which has cut so deeply into Republican strength in the Midwest. Farmers continue to be caught in a severe cost-price squeeze which many blame on the Republican Administration and Benson in particular. But there is a reported growing feeling that neither party has a good, long-term solution to the farm problem. This "plague on both your houses" attitude has been encouraged in some areas by reported farmer concern about the stiff production controls envisaged in the Kennedy farm program.

- Bumper crops reported from all areas of the Midwest. Corn production is 30 percent above the 1949-58 average, wheat production 25 percent above average and soybean production one and one-half times the average. Hog prices are very good (almost \$18 per 100 pounds, well above the 1959 price). Thus there are none of the immediate factors causing farmer discontent which caused the unexpected and severe farm state revolt against Republican candidate Thomas E. Dewey in the 1948 election.

Nixon's effort to disassociate himself from Benson -- together with the prospect of Benson's impending retirement -- has tended to take the sting out of Democratic efforts to arouse an anti-Benson vote.

### Listings and Biographies

All candidates for Governor, U.S. Senator and U.S. House of Representatives are listed, together with notation of age, residence and profession, in the Oct. 14 Weekly Report, starting on p. 1696.

Biographies of all incumbent Senators appear in the Congressional Quarterly Special Report, Elections of 1960, starting on p. 528.

A review of the general House election outlook, together with a discussion of Switch Districts, Doubtful Districts and party membership trends in the House of Representatives since 1928, appears in the Elections of 1960, p. 519.



● The growth of foreign policy as an important issue in the Midwest. Republicans hope the Nixon-Lodge ticket will garner extra votes on the argument of Republican "experience" and "firmness" in the foreign field.

● Younger, more aggressive Republican candidates running in many of the areas where older (and often more conservative) Republican incumbents were defeated in 1958.

### Factors Favoring Democrats

Democrats may look to the following factors which improve their 1960 chances in the Midwest:

● Benson's unpopularity in the farm belt.

● The continuing cost-price squeeze on farmers, which is usually blamed on the Eisenhower Administration.

● The breaking of traditional Republican loyalties in many Midwestern areas during the last three Congressional elections.

● Soft spots in the economy of some of the heavily industrialized states of the Midwest. The steel industry, for example, has been operating at about 50 percent of capacity for several months. The U.S. Department of Labor lists nine areas of "substantial labor surplus" in the Midwest -- three in Michigan, three in Ohio, two in Indiana and one in Minnesota. Smaller areas of substantial labor surplus in the Midwest are listed: six in Michigan, five in Illinois, three in Missouri, two each in Indiana, Kansas and Ohio, and one in Wisconsin.

● The possibility that Roman Catholic bloc voting will develop in those Midwestern states with heavy Catholic populations -- particularly Wisconsin (with 31.3 percent Catholic population), Ohio (20.4 percent), Illinois (28.3 percent -- particularly heavy in Cook County), Minnesota (24.8 percent), and Michigan (24.1 percent). Voting patterns in the April 5 Wisconsin Presidential primary indicated Catholic bloc voting for Kennedy (Weekly Report p. 610).

● Highly successful Democratic registration drives -- particularly in industrial areas of the Midwest.

● Reported concern about the international position of the U.S. in many areas of the Midwest -- including farm areas which rarely concerned themselves with foreign affairs in the past. Democrats hope that uneasiness about the prestige of the U.S. may work to their favor.

Past percentages on Midwestern gubernatorial, Senate and House races appear on p. 10. Here is a rundown on the outlook in the individual states:

### Illinois

Illinois, with its hefty bloc of 27 electoral votes, is one of the major battlegrounds of the Presidential campaign. President Roosevelt carried the state in each of his campaigns, and President Truman carried it against Thomas E. Dewey in 1948 by a narrow margin. The state went for President Eisenhower twice. Possible Catholic bloc voting is expected to aid the Democratic ticket, especially in Chicago (Cook County), but will be offset by anti-Catholic sentiment, particularly in Southern parts of the state which border on Kentucky. The Negro vote in Cook County is expected to go strongly for the Democratic ticket, and widespread unemployment in Southern Illinois is expected to benefit the Democrats. Most observers believe, however, that Nixon currently has a state-wide edge over Kennedy.

**Governor** -- Gov. William G. Stratton (R), seeking a third four-year term, faces Otto Kerner (D) of Glenview, a former Cook County judge. Both men won over primary opposition, Stratton by a 10-7 margin against a single opponent and Kerner (with the endorsement of the Cook County Democratic organization) by better than 2-1 over two opponents. Stratton won reelection in 1956 by a 36,877 vote margin while Eisenhower was carrying Illinois with a 847,645 vote plurality. With the accumulated problems of eight years incumbency, Stratton faces serious obstacles in winning a third term. He does not have the widespread newspaper or unified party support often enjoyed by Republican candidates in the state. Mayor Richard Daley's organization in Chicago is expected to make Herculean efforts to get out a large vote for Presidential nominee Kennedy, and this is expected to aid Kerner and the entire Democratic ticket. **Outlook:** Doubtful.

**Senator** -- Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D) is generally favored to win a third term, but Republican nominee Samuel W. Witwer, a prominent Chicago attorney and civic leader, has been waging a vigorous campaign in his first bid for public office. Most of the newspapers in the state are supporting Witwer. Witwer is running as a moderately conservative Republican, accusing Douglas of ineffectiveness as a Senator. Most observers feel, however, that Douglas enjoys a general reputation and popularity throughout the state that any Republican opponent would find hard to overcome. **Outlook:** Leaning Democratic.

**House** -- Democrats hold 14 seats; Republicans 11 (three less than in 1958). Republicans have a good chance of picking up two seats (12th, 23rd) and are serious contenders for three others (3, 11, 25). Democrats have some chance to pick up three seats (4, 19, 15).

**3rd District (Chicago)** -- This seat has changed parties in every election but one since 1942, but an influx of Democratic-voting Negroes into the District may have pushed it permanently into the Democratic column. Rep. William T. Murphy (D) faces ex-Rep. Emmet F. Byrne (1957-59), whom he defeated in 1958. Republicans are making a hard but uphill fight. **Outlook:** Leaning Democratic.

**4th District (Chicago, suburbs)** -- Rep. Edward J. Derwinski (R), completing his first term, versus Frank G. Sulewski (D), Chicago attorney and regional director of the World University Service. A heavy Cook County straight ticket Democratic vote, or a movement of normally Catholic Republican voters to the Democratic column because of Kennedy's candidacy, might harm Derwinski (even though he is a Catholic himself). Sulewski has proven an able campaigner. Derwinski's 1958 margin was 8,034 votes (52.0 percent). **Outlook:** Leaning Republican.

**11th District (Chicago, suburbs)** -- Rep. Roman C. Pucinski (D) faces ex-Rep. Timothy P. Sheehan (R 1951-59), whom he defeated in 1958 by 8,820 votes. Pucinski's Polish ancestry gives him an advantage in a heavily Polish area. Republicans hope a 1958 "stay-at-home" vote will come out this year to aid Sheehan, but fear that a heavy Democratic Catholic vote for Kennedy may harm Sheehan (who is a Catholic himself). Pucinski is reportedly popular within the District. **Outlook:** Leaning Democratic.

**12th District (Chicago)** -- Edward R. Finnegan (D), former assistant state's attorney for Cook County, faces Theodore P. Fields (R), an assistant attorney general of the State of Illinois. This seat has been vacant since



the death of Rep. Charles A. Boyle (D) in 1959; the last time it went Republican was in 1952. Three of the four wards of the District are heavily Jewish, a factor which is expected to aid Fields, a prominent Jewish layman, over Finnegan, who is a Catholic.<sup>1</sup> Another disadvantage for Finnegan is the bitter primary fight he won (as candidate of the Democratic organization) over Helen L. Boyle, widow of the late Congressman, and two other opponents. Despite these factors working to Fields' advantage, he must wage an uphill fight because of the increasingly Democratic voting trends in the District. Outlook: Doubtful.

15th District (Northeast, Joliet) -- Rep. Noah M. Mason (R) faces Dorothy G. O'Brien (D), De Kalb nurse and farmer who came within 5,623 votes of defeating him in 1958. Mason had previously carried the District with margins well over 60 percent, and Nixon coattails may aid him this year in traditionally strong GOP territory. Outlook: Leaning Republican.

19th District (West central, Moline, Rock Island) -- Rep. Robert B. Chipfield (R) faces Abingdon minister John C. Watson (D), whom he defeated by a 945-vote margin (50.5 percent) in 1958. Democrats have high hopes of a pickup, pointing to Watson's near-win two years ago, but Republicans feel Chipfield is in better shape than in 1958. Nixon coattails may help Chipfield. Outlook: Leaning Republican.

23rd District (Southeast, Salem) -- Rep. George E. Shipley, freshman Democrat who won the seat with a 187-vote plurality in 1958, faces Frank H. Walker (R), assistant commissioner of the Illinois Commerce Commission, a former state representative and Mt. Vernon attorney. Republicans have high hopes of recapturing this seat in traditionally GOP territory, which they expect Nixon to carry by a wide margin. Republican factionalism helped defeat the Republican incumbent in 1958. Democrats acknowledge Shipley faces a tough fight. Outlook: Doubtful.

25th District (South) -- Rep. Kenneth J. Gray (D), who won the seat from the Republicans in 1954, faces state senator Gordon E. Kerr (R), Brookport farmer and insurance agent. High unemployment in the area, plus campaign visits by both Kennedy and Johnson, are believed to work in Gray's favor. But the area is heavily Protestant and may go against Kennedy on religious grounds. Kerr, a veteran of four terms as a state representative, is an able politician. Outlook: Leaning Democratic.

Incumbents in all other Districts, as well as John B. Anderson (R), who won the GOP nomination for the traditionally Republican 16th District (Northwest, Rockford) seat held by retiring Rep. Leo E. Allen (R), are considered Safe. Republicans feel they have an outside chance of defeating Rep. Peter F. Mack Jr. (D) in the 21st District (East central, Springfield), but chances are rated very slim for Republican J. Waldo Ackerman Jr., Springfield state's attorney.

## Indiana

In Indiana, a state which has gone Republican in every Presidential election since 1936, the religious issue is playing a major role. The state has one of the lowest Catholic population percentages (13.2 percent) of any Northern state, and anti-Catholic sentiment runs strong, particularly in rural areas. Vice President Richard M. Nixon is expected to carry the state by a substantial margin, but nothing on the scale of President

Eisenhower's 1956 plurality of almost 400,000 votes. The extent of Nixon's victory may determine whether other Republican candidates are elected. About one-third of the state has voting machines, on which it is possible to vote for a straight ticket by moving one lever. Most of these areas are Democratic. In the other counties, there are three ballots -- Presidential, statewide, and county (including Congressional races). These factors are expected to minimize the effectiveness of the Nixon coattails.

Governor -- Lt. Gov. Crawford F. Parker (R) faces Matthew E. Welsh (D), former minority leader of the state senate. (Gov. Harold W. Handley (R) is ineligible to succeed himself.) Welsh, a popular campaigner, charges Parker with being the candidate of an old, tired, worn-out state administration. Welsh has recalled the highway scandals of previous Republican administrations and attacked the Republicans for 50 percent increases in state income and gasoline taxes. Republicans reply that the Democrats are prepared to embark on wild-eyed, radical spending programs. Parker's campaign has disappointed many Republicans. Republican professionals are understood to believe that a Nixon margin of 175,000 would be necessary to elect Parker. Most observers do not expect Nixon to win that large a majority. Although Republican chances may be aided by a lessening of bitter party factionalism often apparent in recent years, Welsh is believed to have a decided lead. Private polls show him 10 percentage points ahead of Parker. Outlook: Leaning Democratic.

House -- Six of the state's 11 seats switched from the Republican to Democratic column in the 1958 Democratic sweep. Republicans have an excellent chance to regain three and a lesser chance to win the others back. Democratic pick-ups in 1960 are unlikely. Present lineup in the Indiana delegation: eight Democrats, three Republicans.

1st District (Gary) -- Rep. Ray J. Madden (D) occupies the state's only Safe seat.

2nd District (Northwest) -- Rep. Charles A. Halleck (R), the GOP House Minority leader, faces strong competition from George H. Bowers (D), Valparaiso editor. Bowers captured 47.8 percent of the vote, losing to Halleck by a 6,141-vote margin, in 1958. In 1952 Halleck's majority had been nearly 41,000. Kennedy was the principal speaker at the Democrats' April 7 dinner in Lafayette to launch the 1960 "Oust Charlie" drive. Despite the Democratic effort, plus increasing industrialization in the District, Halleck is not thought to be in danger. He has been campaigning actively, and will benefit from the anticipated strong vote for Nixon. Outlook: Leaning to Safe Republican.

3rd District (North central, South Bend) -- Rep. John Brademas (D) versus ex-Rep. F. Jay Nimitz (R 1957-59), whom he defeated in 1958. Nimitz is running a weak campaign and the Republicans have organizational problems. The Kennedy ticket is expected to run strongly in South Bend, home of Notre Dame University, and a heavy Polish-American Catholic vote is expected to benefit the entire Democratic ticket in the area. Brademas defeated Nimitz by a 24,788-vote margin in 1958, and has been an active Representative. Outlook: Leaning Democratic.

4th District (Northeast, Fort Wayne) -- Rep. E. Ross Adair (R) won by a slim 267-vote margin (50.1 percent) in 1958, but he is expected to encounter less trouble in 1960 against Democrat Byron McCammon,

South Whitley school teacher and state representative. Outlook: Leaning Republican.

**5th District (Central, Anderson, Marion) -- Rep. J. Edward Roush (D)** faces George O. Chambers (R), Anderson attorney who is running on a conservative economic platform. Roush took the seat from incumbent Rep. John V. Beamer (R 1951-59) by a 13,332-vote margin (53.7 percent) in 1958. Chambers is well known in the District, but lacks a forceful political personality. Roush has improved his position by a strong effort to help bring industry into the area, winning him the support of some normally Republican chambers of commerce, and by his efforts to get the Federal Government to undertake flood prevention projects in the Wabash River basin. Outlook: Doubtful to Leaning Democratic.

**6th District (West central, Terre Haute) -- Rep. Fred Wampler (D)** faces Richard L. Roudebush (R) of Noblesville, former national commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Wampler won the seat from the incumbent Rep. Cecil M. Harden (R 1949-59) by a 4,120-vote margin (51.5 percent) in 1958. Roudebush is waging a strong campaign and most observers feel he is ahead. Outlook: Doubtful.

**7th District (Southwest) -- Rep. William G. Bray (R)** versus Thomas C. Cravens (D), Bloomfield farmer and insurance agent. Having won by a 10,828-vote margin (53.8 percent) in the Democratic sweep of 1958, Bray is not expected to encounter serious difficulties in his 1960 bid for a sixth term. He enjoys substantial labor support. Outlook: Leaning to Safe Republican.

**8th District (South, Evansville) -- Rep. Winfield K. Denton (D)** versus Alvan V. Burch (R), 76, of Evansville. Although he was almost defeated in 1956 (receiving 50.1 percent of the vote), Denton was able to increase his margin to 61.5 percent in 1958 and Burch is not running a strong campaign. Outlook: Leaning to Safe Democratic.

**9th District (Southeast) -- Rep. Earl Hogan (D)** faces ex-Rep. Earl Wilson (R 1941-59), whom he defeated in 1958 by an 882-vote margin (50.4 percent). Hogan's chances hinge on the extent of farmer discontent in a traditionally Republican area. Outlook: Doubtful.

**10th District (East central, Muncie) -- Rep. Randall S. Harmon (D)**, who won national publicity by using his front porch as a District Congressional office, faces ex-Rep. Ralph Harvey (R 1947-59), the man he defeated in 1958 by 2,257 votes (50.7 percent). In a traditionally Republican District, Harmon's chances appear to depend on the value 10th District voters place on "individuality" in their Representative. Outlook: Doubtful.

**11th District (Indianapolis) -- Rep. Joseph W. Barr (D)**, who won the seat for his party from the Republican incumbent in 1958, faces Donald Cogley Bruce (R), a radio commentator. The Republican organization is functioning well in the District. Bruce charges Barr with being a conservative at home and a liberal in Washington. Barr has been a popular and active Representative, however, and most observers give him a slight edge. Outlook: Doubtful to Leaning Democratic.

## Iowa

Nixon was leading Kennedy, 54 to 39 percent, in the Oct. 10 Des Moines Register and Tribune poll, but Democrats are optimistic about their chances for the Senate, and to a lesser extent, the Governorship. The farm issue is reportedly less acute as voters' attention shifts, at least in part, to international and

other national issues. Kennedy's religion is expected to harm him in Iowa, which has a 15.5 percent Catholic population. Some Democrats are concerned because a large portion of the Democratic candidates on the Nov. 8 ballot are Catholics.

**Governor -- Attorney General Norman A. Erbe (R)** and Lt. Gov. Edward J. McManus (D) are engaged in a close contest for the Governorship. McManus may be at a disadvantage because he is a Roman Catholic. Outlook: Doubtful.

**Senator -- Gov. Herschel C. Loveless (D)**, who became Iowa's first Democratic Governor in 20 years in 1956 when President Eisenhower carried the state by 227,000 votes, is running for the Senate against state senator Jack Miller (R) of Sioux City. Miller is a farm tax lawyer who previously served as attorney to the chief counsel of the U.S. Internal Revenue Service. He lists world peace as the chief issue of his campaign. Loveless lists the farm problem (on which he advises Kennedy) as the chief issue. Loveless' proven personal popularity with the voters is expected to place a near-insurmountable obstacle in Miller's path. Outlook: Leaning Democratic.

**House -- Present lineup: Five Republicans, three Democrats.** Republicans have a good chance to recapture at least one of the two seats they lost in 1958.

**2nd District (Northeast) -- Freshman Rep. Leonard G. Wolf (D)** faces James E. Bromwell (R), a Cedar Rapids attorney who is waging an intensive, personal campaign stressing farm policy and criticizing Wolf for his association with the House Liberal Project and charging "weakness toward international Communism." Wolf is stressing the "Food for Peace" program which he has supported. Outlook: Doubtful.

**4th District (Southeast) -- Rep. John Kyl (R)** versus C. Edwin Gilmour (D), Grinnell political science professor and state senator whom he defeated in a special election in December 1959. Kyl is an able politician and is believed to have strengthened his hold on the District. Outlook: Leaning Republican.

**5th District (Central, Des Moines) -- Rep. Neal Smith (D)**, who defeated a Republican incumbent to take the seat with a 5,373-vote plurality in 1958, faces Des Moines physician Floyd M. Burgeson (R). Burgeson is a forceful campaigner and is well known in the area, but lacks Smith's political experience. The Kennedy vote may be strong in the industrialized Des Moines area, benefiting Smith. Outlook: Leaning Democratic.

**6th District (North central, Fort Dodge) -- Rep. Merwin Coad (D)**, who wrested this seat from Republican control in the 1956 election, faces Garner attorney Curtis G. Riehm (R), a former state representative. Coad increased his margin of victory to 16,287 votes (58.3 percent) in 1958. Outlook: Leaning to Safe Democratic.

The seats of all other incumbents are believed to be Safe.

## Kansas

Nixon is thought to be well ahead in the race for Kansas' eight electoral votes. Republican chances are aided by a cooling of the farm issue, interest in foreign affairs and anti-Catholic sentiment in many areas. Democratic registration is reportedly down in Kansas City and Wichita.

**Governor -- Gov. George Docking (D)** is seeking an unprecedented third term. His Republican opponent, incumbent attorney general John Anderson Jr. of Olathe,

had to win the nomination in a primary fight, but Republican factionalism within the state is reportedly at its lowest point in several years. Docking, on the other hand, is faced with Democratic factionalism stemming from his arguments with Wichita delegates at the Democratic National Convention. Anderson is attacking the expense of Docking administration programs, while Docking criticizes the Republican-controlled legislature for spendthrift policies which exceeded his budget. A recent private poll in the state has indicated a razor-thin margin for Anderson. The anticipated Nixon sweep should aid Anderson's chances further. Outlook: Doubtful.

Senator -- Sen. Andrew F. Schoepfel is given a clear edge in his third-term campaign against Frank Theis of Arkansas City, the Democratic National Committeeman from Kansas. Theis has charged that Schoepfel's law firm has represented gas and trucking interests in cases before agencies of the Federal Government, and that this was improper because Schoepfel serves on the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. Similar charges against Schoepfel in past campaigns have apparently cut little ice with the voters. Outlook: Leaning Republican.

House -- Present lineup: three Democrats, three Republicans. Republicans have a good chance to win two Democratic seats and an outside chance to win the third. Democrats have outside chances of taking the three Republican seats.

1st District (Northeast, Topeka) -- Rep. William H. Avery (R) versus Marshall G. Gardiner (D), Leavenworth newspaperman and state representative. Avery withstood a Democratic challenge with a 4,449-vote plurality in 1958, and is expected to improve his margin in 1960. Outlook: Leaning to Safe Republican.

2nd District (East, Kansas City) -- Freshman Rep. Newell A. George (D) faces Robert F. Ellsworth (R), Lawrence attorney and former lawyer for the Federal Maritime Board. The District, traditionally Republican, went Democratic by 2,075 votes in 1958. Ellsworth is waging a strong campaign and Republicans have high hopes of regaining the seat. Outlook: Doubtful.

3rd District (Southeast) -- Rep. Denver D. Hargis (D), who took this formerly Republican seat by a 2,846-vote margin (51.7 percent) in 1958, is opposed by Walter L. McVey, state senator and attorney from Independence. McVey, an energetic candidate, is waging a hard campaign and the GOP is optimistic about regaining the seat. Outlook: Doubtful.

4th District (East central, Wichita) -- Rep. Edward H. Rees (R), who is retiring, carried 50.7 percent of the vote in this District in 1958. The nominees for 1960 are William I. Robinson (D), Wichita attorney, and state senator Garner E. Shriver (R), who has served in the state legislature since 1947. The District is traditionally Republican. Outlook: Leaning Republican.

5th District (Southwest) -- Rep. J. Floyd Breeding (D), who first won the seat in 1956, appears to have a good chance to win another term. His Republican opponent is Joe W. Hunter of Geneseo, a farmer, cattle judge and county commissioner. Outlook: Leaning Democratic.

6th District (Northwest) -- Robert Dole (R), county attorney from Russell, and William A. Davis (D), Goodland farmer and farm equipment dealer, are battling it out for the seat held by retiring Rep. Wint Smith (R). Smith almost lost the seat in 1958, defeating his opponent by a 231-vote margin. Dole is running a strong campaign

and is expected to do better. Outlook: Leaning to Safe Republican.

## Michigan

Michigan newspaper polls indicate that despite the departure of Gov. G. Mennen Williams (D) from the ballot, Democrats have a good chance of winning the state-wide races again in Michigan in 1960. The Detroit News poll released Oct. 11 showed Kennedy leading the Vice President in Michigan, 52.7 to 46.4 percent, with the remainder undecided. Registration figures, particularly in Wayne County (Detroit), augur well for Democratic chances, though Republicans have countered this trend with record registration in many solidly Republican areas of the state. The Republican organization is in the best shape it has been for many years. The outlook is for better Republican races than in recent years, but for probable continued Democratic majorities state-wide.

Governor -- The Republican candidate is Paul D. Bagwell of East Lansing, professor of communications at Michigan State University who made a respectable showing against Williams in 1958. Lt. Gov. John B. Swainson, a close political ally of Williams and organized labor, won the Democratic primary over secretary of state James M. Hare. Both Swainson and Bagwell have been waging hard campaigns centered on the problem of solving the state's financial problems. The Detroit News poll released Oct. 11 showed Swainson leading Bagwell, 51.3 to 46.0 percent, with the remainder undecided. Outlook: Doubtful to Leaning Democratic.

Senator -- Sen. Pat McNamara (D) faces four-term Rep. Alvin M. Bentley (R - 8th District - Central, Saginaw). McNamara underwent surgery during the summer but his health has since improved and he has been able to do some campaigning. He had a television debate with Bentley Oct. 12. The two men offer the electorate a clear choice in programs -- McNamara with a program resembling that of organized labor, Bentley running a conservative business-oriented platform. The Detroit News poll Oct. 11 showed McNamara with 51.7 percent, Bentley with 44.8 percent, and the remainder undecided. Barring a further deterioration in McNamara's health, Outlook: Leaning Democratic.

House -- Present lineup: Eleven Republicans, seven Democrats. Little change is anticipated. Republicans hope to regain the 7th District, which switched to the Democrats in 1958, and Democrats are aiming for the 6th District, which they lost by narrow margins in 1956 and 1958.

6th District (East central, Lansing, Flint) -- Rep. Charles E. Chamberlain (R) versus Jerome F. O'Rourke (D), prosecuting attorney for Genesee County, a post to which he has been elected three times. O'Rourke is not deemed a strong opponent, but might benefit from a strong Catholic Democratic vote if Kennedy were to sweep the area. The Republican organization is functioning more smoothly in the District than in recent years, and Chamberlain is campaigning hard. Outlook: Leaning Republican.

7th District (East central) -- Freshman Rep. James G. O'Hara (D) faces ex-Rep. Robert J. McIntosh (R 1957-59), the man he defeated by 2,768 votes in 1958. Democrats have made registration gains, especially in key Macomb County, but Republicans are better organized than in 1958. Outlook: Doubtful.



11th District (North) -- Rep. Victor A. Knox (R) versus Prentiss M. Brown Jr. (D), St. Ignace lawyer who has opposed Knox three times previously (1952, 1956, 1958) and cut down the Republican margin to 52.2 percent in 1958. Republicans had organizational problems in the District earlier in the year, but feel they have been corrected. Outlook: Leaning Republican.

8th District (Central, Saginaw) -- James Harvey (R), Saginaw attorney and former mayor, is a heavy favorite over Miss Mary M. Harden (D), Carson City retired teacher, for the seat being vacated by Bentley. Outlook: Safe Republican.

Barring a major sweep for either party, all other seats are considered Safe.

An interesting sidelight: In the 3rd District, Rep. August E. Johansen (R) is opposed by Samuel Ingalls Clark, a professor of political science at Western Michigan University. In 1956 Clark opposed Rep. Clare E. Hoffman (R) in the 4th District. A release issued by Clark states, "Clark's political activity is unique in that it is pitted against the two most extreme conservative Republican Congressmen in the country."

## Minnesota

The Democratic Farmer-Labor Party (DFL) has been in the ascendancy in Minnesota since 1948, with the exception of President Eisenhower's 1952 and 1956 victories. Republicans have high hopes, however, of making at least a partial comeback in the 1960 elections. DFL leaders split badly at the Democratic National Convention and reportedly damaged the party's prestige at home.

Pro- and anti-Catholic sentiments appear to cancel themselves out, as Republicans count on a heavy vote in Lutheran areas and Democrats anticipate a strong vote for Kennedy in the heavily Catholic cities. The latest Minneapolis Tribune poll (published Oct. 9), showed Nixon and Kennedy running neck-and-neck in the state. The best Republican chances for gains are in the governorship and House seats.

Governor -- Gov. Orville L. Freeman (DFL) is seeking an unprecedented third term. His Republican opponent, St. Paul industrialist Elmer L. Anderson, a former state senator, is waging an energetic campaign and was running even with Freeman in the last Tribune poll. He outpolled Freeman in the primary. Freeman has been troubled by the accumulated problems of two terms incumbency as Governor. His taxation problems and disagreements with the legislature have reportedly cost him support. Outlook: Doubtful.

Senator -- Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (DFL) faces Minneapolis mayor P. Kenneth Peterson (R) in the general election. Peterson is waging a strong campaign, and the total Republican Senatorial primary vote outstripped the Democratic. Humphrey, however, is given a comfortable ten percent lead (53 to 43 percent) in the latest state-wide poll. Outlook: Leaning to Safe Democratic.

House -- Present lineup: Four Democrats, five Republicans. Democrats have a chance to pick up one Republican seat (the 9th), while Republicans have high hopes of taking the 3rd and some chance of taking the 4th, both currently in Democratic hands.

3rd District (Minneapolis) -- Rep. Roy W. Wier (DFL), 72, has held this seat for six terms, but his margin of victory has been dwindling steadily since 1954. In 1958 he won by 6,259 votes (51.6 percent). Minneapolis

attorney Clark MacGregor, the Republican candidate, has shown more enthusiasm for the campaign than Wier. Outlook: Doubtful.

4th District (St. Paul) -- Rep. Joseph E. Karth (DFL) faces Joseph J. Mitchell (R), an old-style Irish campaigner who has run well in local St. Paul elections. Local Republicans are enthusiastic, but Mitchell faces a tough fight in a traditionally Democratic District -- despite Karth's reduced election percentage in 1958 (56.4 percent as contrasted to 64.1 percent in 1956). Outlook: Leaning Democratic.

6th District (Central) -- Six-term Rep. Fred Marshall (DFL) faces unusually energetic Republican opposition in Frank L. King, Long Prairie attorney who charges that Marshall is "a smiling figurehead Congressman with the do-nothing handshake." King has engaged Marshall, who won reelection in 1958 by a 22,863-vote margin (64.3 percent), in public debates on Marshall's record. Outlook: Leaning to Safe Democratic.

7th District (Southwest) -- Rep. H. Carl Andersen (R) versus Gordon E. Duenow (DFL), Alexandria newspaper publisher. Andersen is expected to improve his 1958 winning percentage of 53.3 percent. Outlook: Leaning to Safe Republican.

9th District (Northwest) -- Rep. Odin Langen (R) faces ex-Rep. Coya Knutson (DFL 1955-59), whom he defeated in 1958 after her husband wrote a letter asking her to give up her career and "come home." Langen has been an active Congressman and Democrats suffer from wounds left by Mrs. Knutson's primary victory over the DFL organization candidate, state senator Roy E. Wiseth. Outlook: Leaning Republican.

All other incumbents' seats are believed to be Safe.

## Missouri

Missouri is a normally Democratic state which has been placed in the doubtful column for the Presidential race because of widespread anti-Catholic sentiment. In 1928 Herbert Hoover carried the state and the Republicans picked up six House seats and elected a Senator. Missouri observers anticipate a very close race between Kennedy and Nixon for the state's 13 electoral votes, but the general consensus is that Kennedy has neutralized some of the anti-Catholic sentiment and is currently ahead. With the exception of the Senate race, Republicans have not nominated outstanding state-wide candidates.

Governor -- Attorney General John M. Dalton (D) faces state representative Edward G. Farmer Jr. (R). Outlook: Safe Democratic.

Senator -- A special election has been called for Nov. 8 to fill the Senate seat vacated by Sen. Thomas C. Hennings (D), who died Sept. 13. The Democratic state committee nominated Lt. Gov. Edward V. Long (D) to run for the seat following intense political jockeying in which Gov. James T. Blair (D) (who is ineligible to succeed himself as Governor) and Rep. Charles H. Brown (D 7th District) were both eliminated from consideration. Scars from the Democratic maneuvering over the nomination may harm Long, who is opposed by St. Louis attorney Lon Hocker (R), chosen by the Republican state committee. Hocker is waging a vigorous and aggressive campaign, accusing Long of being the creature of the state Democratic machine. Long has replied with attacks on Hocker. Long is expected to benefit from the Demo-

crats' majority position in the state. Outlook: Doubtful to Leaning Democratic.

House -- Present lineup: 10 Democrats, one Republican. Democrats have a chance to win the sole Republican seat, while Republicans have high hopes of taking two Democratic seats and lesser hopes for other pickups.

2nd District (St. Louis County) -- Four-term Rep. Thomas B. Curtis (R) faces Richard L. Carp (D), St. Louis attorney who formerly served on Senate staffs and as a State Department lawyer at the U.N. Curtis has gained stature through his role as Republican spokesman on economic policy and consideration for the Vice Presidential nomination, but loss of normally Republican Catholic vote in St. Louis may harm him. Outlook: Leaning Republican.

6th District (Northwest, St. Joseph) -- Rep. W.R. Hull Jr. (D) faces especially energetic Republican opposition from Ethan H. Campbell (R), general advertising manager for the St. Joseph News Press & Gazette who survived the Bataan death march and over three years as a Japanese prisoner of war in World War II. Barring an unexpectedly strong Nixon sweep, however, Outlook: Leaning to Safe Democratic.

7th District (Southwest, Ozarks) -- Rep. Charles H. Brown (D), who first won this traditionally Republican seat from ex-Rep. Dewey Short (R 1929-31; 1935-57) in 1956, faces serious opposition from Durward Gorham Hall (R), Springfield physician. Brown reportedly lost stature when Sen. Stuart Symington (D Mo.), for whom he was campaign manager, failed to win a place on the Democratic national ticket. He made enemies with Democratic organization friends of Dalton through his unsuccessful attempt to obtain the Senatorial nomination. Hall is waging a vigorous campaign, accusing Brown of a "sell-out" to organized labor and a program too liberal for the District. The Republican cause will be aided by strong anti-Catholic sentiment in this Bible Belt country. Outlook: Doubtful.

8th District (Southeast) -- Richard Ichord (D), speaker of the Missouri House of Representatives, won the Democratic primary against Rep. A.S.J. Carnahan (D). Republicans had high hopes of defeating Carnahan if he had been renominated, but Karl Schupp, the Republican candidate, is given little chance unless anti-Catholic sentiment swamps the Democrats in this predominantly Protestant area. Outlook: Leaning to Safe Democratic.

11th District (Central) -- Six-term Rep. Morgan M. Moulder (D), who came close to defeat in 1952 and 1956, faces strong opposition from Robert A. Bartel (R) of Columbia, a Baptist minister. Kennedy's Catholicism is expected to harm Moulder and be especially beneficial to Bartel in this strongly Protestant territory. Moulder has been under attack because of high expense accounts he submitted as a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Outlook: Doubtful.

Sidelight to the 7th and 11th District campaigns: Republican National Committeeman Francis C. Corley Aug. 24 told a Republican meeting in St. Louis that the GOP had exceptionally good chances of winning the 7th and 11th Districts. According to a report in the St. Louis Post Dispatch, he estimated it would take \$63,000 to win the 7th District and \$50,000 to win the 11th.

All Districts not listed above appear to be Safe for the incumbents in 1960.

## Nebraska

The farm revolt helped Democrats in 1958 to break the Republicans' 18-year hold on high Nebraska offices by electing a Democratic Governor and two Democratic Congressmen. The state's basic conservatism, plus some measure of anti-Catholic sentiment, is expected to aid Republicans to make a strong comeback in 1960. Democratic chances have been further darkened by an open split between the regular Democratic party organization and Citizens for Kennedy. Republicans, on the other hand, are waging well-organized and well-financed campaigns.

Governor -- Gov. Ralph G. Brooks (D), who was a candidate for the Senate, died Sept. 9 and the office is being held temporarily by Dwight W. Burney (R), who was lieutenant governor. The Republican nominee is John Cooper of Humboldt, currently a member of the state senate. Cooper, former state commander of the American Legion, is in the feed grain business and is well known throughout the state. The Democratic candidate, Frank Morrison, is a Lincoln attorney who made previously unsuccessful campaigns for Governor, the Senate, lieutenant governor and the U.S. House. Outlook: Leaning Republican.

Senator -- Sen. Carl T. Curtis (R) is opposed by Robert Conrad (D) of Genoa, an attorney and former administrative assistant to Gov. Brooks. Conrad had been an unsuccessful candidate in the Democratic gubernatorial primary, and was selected to run for the Senate following Brooks' death. Curtis has a smoothly operating organization and is not thought to be in danger. Outlook: Leaning to Safe Republican.

House -- Present lineup: Two Republicans, two Democrats (both freshmen). Republicans are expected to hold their present two seats and have a chance to win the other two seats.

1st District (South; Lincoln) and 2nd District (East, Omaha) -- The seats of Republican incumbents Phil Weaver and Glenn Cunningham are considered Safe.

3rd District (Northeast) -- Freshman Rep. Larry Brock (D) is expected to benefit from his conservatism. He was one of the few Northern Democrats who voted for the Landrum-Griffin labor reform bill. He is opposed by Ralph Beermann (R), conservative Dakota City attorney who is waging a more effective campaign than the Republican candidate in 1958. Barring a strong Nixon sweep, Outlook: Leaning Democratic.

4th District (Northwest) -- Freshman Rep. Donald F. McGinley (D) faces Dave Martin, Kearney lumberman and former state Republican chairman. Martin is running on a strongly conservative platform. McGinley is expected to benefit from his family's good name in Western Nebraska farm and business circles and his personal popularity, but to suffer from his Catholicism and vote against the Landrum-Griffin bill. Nixon is expected to carry the area by a wide margin. Outlook: Doubtful.

## North Dakota

Republicans received a shock when Rep. Quentin N. Burdick (D) defeated the incumbent Republican Governor, John E. Davis, by a narrow margin in the June 28 special election to fill the Senate seat of the late



William Langer (R). Farm discontent which aided Burdick's election -- he used the slogan, "Beat Benson With Burdick." -- is reported still acute in North Dakota, but Nixon is believed to be leading Kennedy in the Presidential race in the state and Republicans have high hopes of taking Burdick's old House seat and electing a new Republican Governor. Anti-Catholic sentiment, combined with the state's traditional Republicanism, are competing with the anti-Benson issue for voters' loyalties.

**Governor** -- Twelve-term Lt. Gov. C.P. Dahl (R) is opposed by William L. Guy (D), Cass County farmer and state representative. Herschel Lashkowitz, the Democratic mayor of Fargo, has filed as an independent. Lashkowitz filed an \$85,000 libel suit against Guy after Guy charged that the Lashkowitz candidacy was part of a Republican plan to split the Democratic vote. Lashkowitz formerly served as Democratic party chairman in Cass County. Dahl has proven his vote-getting abilities in the past. Democrats are counting on the continuing farm crisis to aid them in this race. **Outlook: Doubtful.**

**House** -- North Dakota elects its two Representatives at-large, with the seats going to the two candidates who receive the most votes. Incumbent Rep. Don L. Short (R) is thought to be safe in his seat. The main question appears to be whether the second Republican candidate, six-term state representative Hjalmar C. Nygaard of Ransom County, can defeat the more popular of the two Democratic candidates, Carpio state senator Raymond G. Vendsel. The second Democratic candidate, Anson J. Anderson, is given little chance. Nygaard is well known throughout the state for his activities as both majority and minority leader of the state House. Vendsel ran a good race against Langer for the Senate in 1958, and is also known in all parts of the state. Between these two men for the second At Large House seat, **Outlook: Doubtful.**

## Ohio

There are no Governorship or Senate races in Ohio this year, and the outcome of the Presidential race may influence the outcome in several close Congressional races. Registration has shot up dramatically in the larger cities, due at least in large part to the intensive registration drive waged by organized labor groups and the Democratic party. Democratic registration was already at a high level as a result of labor's drive to register union members to vote against right-to-work legislation in 1958. Republicans feel that many Republicans lost interest in the 1958 election, but will turn out in 1960.

Republicans are concerned, however, over increasing industrialization in many formerly safe Republican areas. Newspaper polls have indicated a large swing of Catholic voters who supported Eisenhower in 1956 back to the Democratic ticket, with little corresponding movement of Protestant Democrats to Nixon. Both Kennedy and Nixon have had good crowds during their campaign swings into Ohio. Most observers -- and state-wide polls -- currently give Kennedy a clear edge.

**House** -- Present lineup: Fourteen Republicans, eight Democrats and one Democratic vacancy. Republicans lost three seats in 1958 and have a good chance to win them back, plus the vacant Democratic seat. Democrats hope to hold their gains, and have varying chances of picking up six Republican seats.

**2nd District (Cincinnati)** -- Rep. William E. Hess (R), who won 54.7 percent of the 1958 vote, is retiring. Donald D. Clancy (R), two-term mayor of Cincinnati under the city manager plan, is popular in the area and given an edge over Democrat H.A. Sand. **Outlook: Leaning Republican.**

**3rd District (Southwest, Dayton)** -- Rep. Paul F. Schenck (R), who won a 9,405 vote victory (52.4 percent) in 1958, is opposed by Dayton mayor R. William Patterson, who opposed Schenck in 1956. The Patterson family name is well known in the area, and Patterson should benefit from a sharp increase in Democratic registration. **Outlook: Leaning Republican.**

**5th District (Northwest)** -- Rep. Delbert L. Latta (R), who carried the District by a 7,641-vote margin (53.9 percent) in 1958, faces Thomas P. McRitchie (D), Port Clinton manufacturer and city councilman. Latta trailed the statewide Republican ticket in 1958, and must cope with a strong campaign by McRitchie in 1960. **Outlook: Leaning Republican.**

**6th District (South)** -- Frank E. Smith (D), Portsmouth businessman and farmer, is opposed by William H. Harsha Jr. (R), county prosecutor from Portsmouth, in a fight for the vacant seat of the late Rep. James G. Polk (D 1933-43; 1949-59). Polk's victories were personal victories rather than party victories, and Republicans have high hopes of winning the District. **Outlook: Doubtful.**

**10th District (Southeast)** -- Rep. Walter H. Moeller (D), who won this traditionally Republican District by a 5,332-vote plurality (52.9 percent) in 1958, is opposed by Oakley C. Collins (R) of Ironton, a mining executive and former member (four terms) of the state senate. Republicans are making a determined effort to regain the seat. **Outlook: Doubtful.**

**11th District (Northeast)** -- Freshman Rep. Robert E. Cook (D) faces ex-Rep. David S. Dennison Jr. (R 1957-59), the man he defeated by a 967-vote margin (50.3 percent) in 1958. Dennison has been making an intense effort to regain the seat, but he faces the obstacles of increasing industrialization in the area and Cook's able campaigning. **Outlook: Doubtful.**

**13th District (North central, Lorain, Sandusky)** -- Rep. A.D. Baumhart Jr. (R) is retiring. Republican candidate Charles A. Mosher, Oberlin publisher and five-term state senator, faces J. William McCray (D), Elyria attorney. Mosher has won widespread support because of his record in the state senate, but reportedly lacks effectiveness as a personal campaigner. Unemployment in Lorain steel mills also poses a problem for the Republicans. **Outlook: Doubtful.**

**15th District (Southeast, Zanesville)** -- Rep. John E. Henderson (R) is retiring. Tom V. Moorhead (R) of Zanesville, a member of the state senate, opposes ex-state representative Herbert U. Smith (D). Smith was previously an administrative assistant to Rep. Robert T. Secrest (D 1933-42; 1947-53), and is reported to have some of the campaigning ability that enabled Secrest to win as a Democrat in traditionally Republican territory. **Outlook: Doubtful.**

**16th District (East central, Canton)** -- Rep. Frank T. Bow (R) won reelection by 57.4 percent in 1958, but industrialization and the possibility of a strong Kennedy vote in Canton improve chances for Democrat John G. Freedom. Gov. Michael V. DiSalle (D) carried the District with a 54.2 percent in 1958. Bow originally

won the seat from a Democratic incumbent in 1952. Outlook: Leaning Republican.

**17th District (Central) --** Freshman Rep. Robert W. Levering (D), who won the District by a 4,160-vote margin (51.7 percent) in 1958, faces state representative John M. Ashbrook (R) of Johnstown, an attorney and publisher of the Johnstown Independent. Republicans feel Ashbrook is an outstanding candidate and should win in this traditionally Republican District. Outlook: Doubtful.

The seats of all other incumbents are thought to be Safe.

## South Dakota

Republican candidates for the Senate, House and Governorship are hoping to ride the Nixon tide to victory in the general election. The South Dakota newspaper poll (run jointly by the Sioux Falls Argus-Leader, the Aberdeen American-News and the Watertown Public Opinion) Oct. 13 reported Nixon leading Kennedy, 60.3 to 34.3 percent, with 5.4 percent undecided. Democrats have been concerned with the large number of Catholic or "Catholic-sounding" names on their ticket.

**Governor --** Gov. Ralph Herseth (D), seeking a second term, faces Archie Gubbrud (R), Alcester, speaker of the house of representatives. Both Herseth and Gubbrud are farmers. Herseth started the race far ahead of Gubbrud, polling 57.6 percent to Gubbrud's 32.6 percent (9.8 percent undecided) in the South Dakota poll released July 6. Gubbrud made a spectacular advance during the summer months, however, and the poll released Oct. 13 showed 50.0 percent for Gubbrud, 41.3 percent for Herseth and 8.7 percent undecided. The situation remains volatile; the Outlook: Doubtful.

**Senator --** Sen. Karl E. Mundt (R), seeking a third six-year term, is in a tight race with two-term Rep. George McGovern (D), who took the 1st District House seat from Republican hands in 1956. Mundt is known as a conservative Republican and McGovern is known as a liberal Democrat and the race is being waged on the diametrically opposite philosophies of the two men. McGovern has sought to associate Mundt with Benson farm policies while Mundt is backing the new Nixon farm program. Although organized labor is not strong in the state, both labor groups and other Democratic fund organizations are expected to give McGovern all the funds he needs for a thorough campaign, while Republicans inside and outside the state go all out to support Mundt in what many believe to be the political fight of his life. The Oct. 13 South Dakota poll results: Mundt 53.4 percent; McGovern 46.6 percent. Outlook: Doubtful.

**House --** The Republicans are expected to hold the 2nd District seat without difficulty and may pick up McGovern's seat:

**1st District (East) --** State secretary of agriculture Ray Fitzgerald (D) versus Dr. Ben Reifel of Aberdeen (R), a Government career man in the Indian Service who is half Sioux Indian. Fitzgerald has sought to associate his opponent with Benson's policies. Reifel, a Harvard graduate, is the first outstanding Indian leader who has run for a top political post in the state. The Oct. 13 South Dakota poll gave Reifel 57.9 percent, Fitzgerald 33.7 percent (8.4 percent undecided.) Outlook: Leaning Republican.

## Wisconsin

The religious issue is expected to cut both ways in Wisconsin, which has a 31.3 percent Roman Catholic population. Milwaukee, which is heavily Catholic (34.5 percent), is expected to go for Kennedy by a very wide margin, while anti-Catholic sentiment is expected to trim Kennedy's margin in some Protestant areas of the state. Most observers believe the religious issue will work to the net benefit of Kennedy, and that he will carry the state.

**Governor --** One-term Gov. Gaylord A. Nelson (D) is opposed by Philip G. Kuehn (R), Milwaukee businessman and former state Republican chairman. Kuehn has been campaigning more intensively than Nelson, claiming that the Democratic administration has a "do-nothing" record and has not encouraged new industry to enter the state. Nelson is running on his administration's record and rebutting the argument on encouragement of industry. Kuehn has not developed significant support in Milwaukee County, and a Kennedy win is expected to benefit Nelson. Outlook: Leaning Democratic.

**House --** Present lineup: Five Democrats, five Republicans. Republicans have an even chance to win the two seats they lost to the Democrats in 1958. Democrats have high hopes for the 3rd District, now Republican, and lesser chances for taking the Republican 6th District.

**1st District (Southeast, Racine, Kenosha) --** Rep. Gerald T. Flynn (D), who took this traditionally Republican seat by a 1,450-vote margin (50.6 percent) in 1958, is opposed by the Rev. Henry C. Schadeberg (R) of Burlington, a Congregational minister. Schadeberg is waging an intense, personal campaign as the Republicans go all-out to recapture the District. Schadeberg warmed up with a 5,000-vote primary victory over two well known opponents. Flynn is expected to run strongly in the cities, while Schadeberg does particularly well in rural areas. The religious issue is expected to play a role. Outlook: Doubtful.

**2nd District (Southeast, Madison) --** Rep. Robert W. Kastenmeier (D) again faces ex-Rep. Donald E. Tewes (R 1957-59), whom he defeated by a 6,261-vote plurality (52.1 percent) in 1958. In their first contest in 1956, Tewes had received 55.3 percent of the vote against Kastenmeier. Tewes is charging that Kastenmeier has filled his payroll with "Democratic politicians" and that he has "rented" his personal apartment to the Government as a District office. Kastenmeier may benefit, as he did in 1958, from Nelson's coattails. Nelson's home city is Madison. Outlook: Doubtful.

**3rd District (Southwest, LaCrosse) --** Rep. Gardner R. Withrow (R), who won reelection by a narrow 2,250-vote margin in 1958, is retiring. The Democratic nominee is Withrow's 1958 opponent, Norman M. Clapp, Lancaster editor-publisher, former Congressional staff member and an adviser to the Farmers Union. The Republican nominee is ex-Gov. Vernon W. Thomson (R 1957-59), whom Nelson defeated in 1958. Thomson carried the 3rd District by 5,693 votes, however. Republicans hope the prestige of a former Governor will help them to hold the seat. Outlook: Doubtful.

**6th District (East central, Oshkosh, Sheboygan) --** Rep. William K. Van Pelt (R) faces James Megellas (D), Fond du Lac businessman and councilman. Van Pelt defeated Megellas in 1958 by 6,459 votes (52.8 percent). Outlook: Leaning Republican.

Barring an unexpectedly strong Kennedy or Nixon sweep, all other incumbents are considered Safe.

# HISTORY OF MIDWESTERN CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS, 1952-59

The following chart shows the percentage of the total vote won by Midwestern House members elected in the general elections of 1952, 1954, 1956 and 1958, and in the special elections held in the states of Missouri and Iowa during 1959. In the two right-hand columns, President Eisenhower's percentages of the vote in the Congressional district in 1952 and 1956 appear. Percentages for all years through 1958 are based on final official returns. Percentages of winning Democrats are given in **bold type**; percentages of winning Republicans are given in light type. Winners' names for years before 1958 are not given. X indicates the winner had no major party opposition.

## KEY

- sw -- Switch District. Seat switched from Republican to Democratic or Democratic to Republican control in any election following 1952.  
 d -- Doubtful District. Won by less than 55 percent of the vote in any of the last four elections.  
 r -- Retiree. Incumbent has announced retirement at the end of the 86th Congress.  
 p -- Primary Defeat. Incumbent defeated in 1960 primary.

HOUSE %					IKE %	
	1958	1956	1954	1952	1956	1952
<b>ILLINOIS</b>						
	1 Dawson (D)	<b>72.2</b>	<b>64.4</b>	<b>75.3</b>	<b>73.5</b>	36.3 25.4
d	2 O'Hara (D)	<b>68.3</b>	<b>55.3</b>	<b>61.6</b>	<b>51.4</b>	49.9 49.1
sw-d	3 Murphy (D)	<b>56.4</b>	51.5	<b>53.8</b>	54.5	61.2 55.0
d	4 Derwinski (R)	52.0	60.0	52.1	56.6	65.0 55.9
	5 Kluczynski (D)	<b>76.1</b>	<b>61.8</b>	<b>73.2</b>	<b>64.5</b>	50.9 38.6
	6 O'Brien (D)	<b>73.1</b>	<b>62.0</b>	<b>71.7</b>	<b>63.1</b>	44.5 38.9
	7 Libonati (D)	<b>83.0</b>	<b>71.7</b>	<b>78.4</b>	<b>70.0</b>	34.2 31.2
	8 Rostenkowski (D)	<b>76.6</b>	<b>59.5</b>	<b>68.4</b>	<b>59.0</b>	48.5 41.9
d	9 Yates (D)	<b>67.0</b>	<b>54.0</b>	<b>60.3</b>	<b>52.4</b>	54.9 51.3
d	10 Collier (R)	54.3	64.5	57.3	65.0	70.1 64.8
sw-d	11 Pucinski (D)	<b>56.7</b>	55.5	50.9	59.4	65.4 58.0
sw-d	12 Boyle (D) †	<b>60.8</b>	<b>53.2</b>	<b>54.1</b>	55.7	52.8 55.2
	13 Church (R)	67.1	71.6	69.6	70.6	73.3 70.4
	14 Hoffman (R)	64.3	70.6	72.4	71.5	77.3 72.7
d	15 Mason (R)	52.5	64.6	62.8	63.6	67.7 62.5
r	16 Allen (R)	61.4	63.7	X	66.5	68.1 66.3
	17 Arends (R)	61.0	64.9	65.0	63.6	67.0 64.8
	18 Michel (R)	59.5	58.8	57.4	55.2	63.5 60.5
d	19 Chiperfield (R)	50.5	55.8	56.5	60.8	59.9 61.2
r	20 Simpson (R)	55.5	59.6	62.9	61.8	60.7 60.9
d	21 Mack, Jr. (D)	<b>58.8</b>	<b>53.5</b>	<b>54.8</b>	<b>52.4</b>	57.9 55.3
	22 Springer (R)	60.5	62.3	62.0	63.0	61.7 61.1
sw-d	23 Shipley (D)	<b>50.1</b>	52.6	52.9	58.1	59.5 59.1
	24 Price (D)	<b>76.1</b>	<b>68.2</b>	<b>69.2</b>	<b>64.8</b>	44.0 40.6
sw-d	25 Gray (D)	<b>58.2</b>	<b>53.8</b>	<b>52.6</b>	56.2	55.9 55.6
<b>INDIANA</b>						
d	1 Madden (D)	<b>66.4</b>	<b>52.6</b>	<b>61.4</b>	<b>56.4</b>	52.2 44.7
d	2 Halleck (R)	52.2	62.2	59.8	59.3	68.4 67.3
sw-d	3 Brademas (D)	<b>56.9</b>	53.1	50.4	54.5	58.4 55.9
d	4 Adair (R)	50.1	63.5	59.8	63.7	68.1 64.9
sw-d	5 Roush (D)	<b>53.7</b>	56.4	53.1	56.9	60.2 57.5
sw-d	6 Wampler (D)	<b>51.5</b>	55.0	52.5	55.7	59.0 58.5
d	7 Bray (R)	53.8	57.2	55.4	56.1	58.9 56.6
sw-d	8 Denton (D)	<b>61.5</b>	<b>50.1</b>	<b>52.1</b>	52.6	56.5 55.3
sw-d	9 Hogan (D)	<b>50.4</b>	53.4	51.7	56.4	59.2 58.5
sw-d	10 Harmon (D)	<b>50.7</b>	56.3	55.9	59.9	59.8 60.4
sw-d	11 Barr (D)	<b>52.1</b>	59.4	54.9	59.3	62.1 60.5
<b>IOWA</b>						
d	1 Schwengel (R)	53.4	58.0	57.0	62.8	60.3 63.5
sw-d	2 Wolf (D)	<b>51.1</b>	51.4	55.4	62.2	61.2 63.1
d	3 Gross (R)	53.7	58.6	62.1	65.8	60.5 66.4
sw-d	4 Carter (D) †	<b>52.0</b>	50.7	55.6	61.9	55.8 59.7
	Kyl (R) 52.3 (special election '59)					
sw-d	5 Smith (D)	<b>52.3</b>	51.1	55.6	58.8	56.3 58.7

† Deceased

HOUSE %					IKE %	
	1958	1956	1954	1952	1956	1952
<b>KANSAS</b>						
sw-d	6 Coad (D)	<b>58.3</b>	<b>50.1</b>	60.3	68.7	56.3 65.3
d	7 Jensen (R)	51.5	55.4	60.4	67.3	60.4 67.4
d	8 Hoeven (R)	52.7	60.1	63.8	X	62.3 68.8
<b>MICHIGAN</b>						
sw-d	1 Avery (R)	51.2	53.1	54.3	<b>57.5</b>	69.4 71.3
sw-d	2 George (D)	<b>50.8</b>	54.9	54.7	57.3	60.9 61.3
sw-d	3 Hargis (D)	<b>51.7</b>	55.0	55.4	59.5	62.5 64.5
d-r	4 Rees (R)	50.7	53.8	56.2	52.4	65.2 71.5
sw-d	5 Breeding (D)	<b>53.1</b>	<b>50.5</b>	64.9	70.9	67.9 71.5
d-r	6 Smith (R)	49.2	51.1	53.3	62.5	69.9 76.4
<b>MINNESOTA</b>						
	1 Machrowicz (D)	<b>90.4</b>	<b>86.1</b>	<b>82.3</b>	<b>84.2</b>	21.0 19.1
	2 Meader (R)	58.8	63.1	59.8	63.4	66.8 66.7
	3 Johansen (R)	60.4	63.8	59.4	62.0	67.9 67.5
	4 Hoffman (R)	59.8	62.0	62.3	66.6	69.2 68.5
	5 Ford, Jr. (R)	63.6	67.1	63.3	66.3	67.9 64.9
sw-d	6 Chamberlain (R)	52.1	50.8	<b>57.1</b>	52.6	60.0 59.5
sw-d	7 O'Hara (D)	<b>50.7</b>	53.7	52.8	60.3	59.5 64.3
r	8 Bentley (R)	62.2	64.1	62.7	66.6	67.3 69.3
	9 Griffin (R)	56.7	56.0	55.7	59.5	62.3 62.8
	10 Cederberg (R)	61.1	65.6	61.4	67.5	69.2 69.4
d	11 Knox (R)	52.2	56.1	54.9	59.3	63.5 63.3
	12 Bennett (R)	57.0	56.3	55.9	58.2	55.6 53.8
	13 Diggs (D)	<b>72.7</b>	<b>69.8</b>	<b>65.8</b>	<b>64.8</b>	34.4 37.2
d	14 Rabaut (D)	<b>64.2</b>	<b>56.8</b>	<b>58.2</b>	<b>53.0</b>	50.1 51.0
	15 Dingell (D)	<b>78.5</b>	<b>74.1</b>	<b>72.7</b>	<b>66.7</b>	33.2 37.2
	16 Lesinski (D)	<b>71.8</b>	<b>64.1</b>	<b>67.9</b>	<b>60.7</b>	43.7 43.3
sw-d	17 Griffiths (D)	<b>60.3</b>	<b>53.3</b>	<b>52.2</b>	52.9	56.1 57.6
d	18 Broomfield (R)	52.6	56.7	53.9	56.2	60.5 61.0
<b>MISSOURI</b>						
	1 Karsten (D)	<b>75.8</b>	<b>66.3</b>	<b>66.3</b>	<b>64.2</b>	39.2 40.0
d	2 Curtis (R)	51.9	51.8	54.7	56.9	56.0 56.3

		HOUSE %				IKE %	
		1958	1956	1954	1952	1956	1952
	3 Sullivan (D)	<b>79.2</b>	<b>69.7</b>	<b>71.0</b>	<b>64.8</b>	35.9	34.4
sw-d	4 Christopher (D) †	<b>64.0</b>	<b>51.8</b>	<b>52.0</b>	53.3	51.8	54.9
	Randall (D) <b>57.9</b>	(Special election '59)					
	5 Bolling (D)	<b>70.0</b>	<b>57.2</b>	<b>58.9</b>	<b>56.0</b>	46.1	46.6
sw-d	6 Hull, Jr. (D)	<b>64.9</b>	<b>52.0</b>	<b>53.6</b>	52.4	52.5	55.8
sw-d	7 Brown (D)	<b>53.7</b>	<b>50.3</b>	53.6	61.7	61.1	64.9
p-d	8 Carnahan (D)	<b>64.3</b>	<b>54.3</b>	<b>57.2</b>	<b>52.8</b>	50.5	50.6
d	9 Cannon (D)	<b>64.8</b>	<b>X</b>	<b>59.0</b>	<b>54.7</b>	51.8	52.2
	10 Jones (D)	<b>70.7</b>	<b>X</b>	<b>63.9</b>	<b>60.7</b>	45.3	45.4
d	11 Moulder (D)	<b>56.9</b>	<b>50.8</b>	<b>55.3</b>	<b>50.4</b>	53.5	55.2
<b>NEBRASKA</b>							
d	1 Weaver (R)	53.4	67.0	58.6	72.0	66.4	71.6
d	2 Cunningham (R)	64.7	53.4	52.9	56.1	60.4	58.3
sw-d	3 Brock (D)	<b>55.1</b>	50.1	65.2	71.9	67.7	73.3
sw-d	4 McGinley (D)	<b>52.3</b>	65.7	70.4	53.3	68.0	73.9
<b>NORTH DAKOTA</b>							
sw-d-r	AL Burdick (D)	<b>51.9</b>	62.6	71.7	78.4	61.8	71.0
	AL Short (R)	55.4	62.0	62.4	<b>X</b>	61.8	71.0
<b>OHIO</b>							
	1 Scherer (R)	56.6	64.7	64.3	61.6	65.7	60.7
d-r	2 Hess (R)	54.7	65.5	58.4	56.6	66.5	58.5
d	3 Schenck (R)	52.4	59.0	52.6	51.1	59.7	53.6
	4 McCulloch (R)	61.0	68.8	67.6	68.3	68.5	64.9
d	5 Latta (R)	53.9	62.3	59.5	63.2	70.0	68.2
d	6 Polk (D) †	<b>62.0</b>	<b>54.5</b>	<b>52.2</b>	<b>50.1</b>	60.7	56.9
	7 Brown (R)	60.5	66.0	62.2	<b>X</b>	65.9	62.6
	8 Betts (R)	61.3	63.5	63.0	68.7	70.1	68.5
sw-d	9 Ashley (D)	<b>61.6</b>	<b>55.3</b>	<b>36.4</b>	40.9	53.2	51.7
sw-d	10 Moeller (D)	<b>52.9</b>	<b>X</b>	61.7	64.0	64.9	60.6
sw-d	11 Cook (D)	<b>50.3</b>	58.4	65.3	58.8	61.7	57.8
d	12 Devine (R)	54.4	61.8	61.5	62.3	65.8	60.3
r	13 Baumhart, Jr. (R)	58.9	70.7	59.1	58.8	65.6	62.8
d	14 Ayres (R)	60.1	58.9	54.6	58.5	54.2	50.5
sw-d-r	15 Henderson (R)	57.3	60.5	54.0	<b>64.3</b>	67.8	62.3
d	16 Bow (R)	57.4	55.2	56.3	54.4	64.0	58.3
sw-d	17 Levering (D)	<b>51.7</b>	66.5	64.6	68.2	68.0	65.9
	18 Hays (D)	<b>71.5</b>	<b>59.6</b>	<b>57.3</b>	<b>55.8</b>	57.4	49.0
	19 Kirwan (D)	<b>75.0</b>	<b>68.7</b>	<b>67.5</b>	<b>66.3</b>	52.4	44.2
	20 Feighan (D)	<b>79.4</b>	<b>65.3</b>	<b>67.7</b>	<b>65.2</b>	50.4	47.3
	21 Vanik (D)	<b>80.4</b>	<b>71.6</b>	<b>76.0</b>	<b>68.6</b>	41.0	32.7
	22 Bolton (R)	55.3	66.7	58.3	58.8	55.9	56.0
	23 Minshall (R)	66.5	69.0	67.5	64.6	67.9	69.4
<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b>							
sw-d-r	1 McGovern (D)	<b>53.4</b>	<b>52.4</b>	58.0	68.5	57.5	69.0
	2 Berry (R)	55.6	55.9	62.7	69.0	61.4	70.3
<b>WISCONSIN</b>							
sw-d	1 Flynn (D)	<b>50.6</b>	57.1	54.4	59.4	63.1	59.6
sw-d	2 Kastenmeier (D)	<b>52.1</b>	55.3	54.0	62.9	62.0	60.7
d-r	3 Withrow (R)	51.2	61.2	62.1	75.1	60.0	68.9
d	4 Zablocki (D)	<b>74.1</b>	<b>65.7</b>	<b>71.1</b>	<b>64.3</b>	57.0	48.0
sw-d	5 Reuss (D)	<b>69.5</b>	<b>57.7</b>	<b>52.2</b>	51.6	55.3	54.8
d	6 Van Pelt (R)	52.8	67.2	62.5	71.7	69.4	68.4
	7 Laird (R)	60.5	61.9	59.1	72.3	66.6	67.5
	8 Byrnes (R)	57.3	64.7	62.0	73.6	69.4	68.2
sw-d	9 Johnson (D)	<b>63.1</b>	<b>51.4</b>	<b>55.4</b>	62.5	59.3	64.4
	10 O'Konski (R)	67.1	64.6	59.7	67.4	56.3	57.6

### Gubernatorial, Presidential Percentages

This chart shows the most recent election percentages in gubernatorial and Presidential contests in the 11 Midwestern states that will elect Governors Nov. 8.

#### Headnotes

\*Not seeking reelection

†Succeeded to governorship upon death of Gov. Ralph G. Brooks (D).

Democratic percentages are shown in Boldface.

Republican percentages are shown in Lightface.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
	1958	1956	1954	1952	Eisenhower % 1956	1952
<b>ILLINOIS</b>						
Stratton (R)		50.3		52.5	59.5	54.8
<b>INDIANA</b>						
*Handley (R)		55.6		55.7	59.9	58.1
<b>IOWA</b>						
*Loveless (D)	<b>54.1</b>	<b>51.2</b>	51.4	51.9	59.1	63.8
<b>KANSAS</b>						
Docking (D)	<b>56.5</b>	<b>55.5</b>	53.0	56.3	65.4	68.8
<b>MICHIGAN</b>						
*Williams (D)	<b>53.0</b>	<b>54.7</b>	<b>55.6</b>	<b>50.0</b>	55.6	55.4
<b>MINNESOTA</b>						
Freeman (D)	<b>56.8</b>	<b>51.4</b>	<b>52.7</b>	55.3	53.7	55.3
<b>MISSOURI</b>						
*Blair (D)		52.1		52.5	49.9	50.7
<b>NEBRASKA</b>						
*†Burney (R)	<b>50.2</b>	54.3	60.3	61.4	65.5	69.2
<b>NORTH DAKOTA</b>						
*Davis (R)	53.1	58.5	64.2	78.7	61.7	71.0
<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b>						
Herseth (D)	<b>51.4</b>	54.4	56.7	70.2	58.4	69.3
<b>WISCONSIN</b>						
Nelson (D)	<b>53.6</b>	51.9	51.5	62.4	61.6	61.0

### Senatorial, Presidential Percentages

This chart shows the most recent election percentages in Senatorial and Presidential contests in the 8 Midwestern states that will elect Senators Nov. 8.

#### Headnotes

\*Not seeking reelection.

The name of the Senator whose seat is at stake in 1960 is CAPITALIZED.

Democratic percentages are shown in Boldface.

Republican percentages are shown in Lightface.

†Deceased. Long (D) now filling seat on interim appointment.

	1958	1956	1954	1952	Eisenhower % 1956	1952
<b>ILLINOIS</b>						
DOUGLAS (D)			<b>53.6</b>			
Dirksen (R)		54.1			59.1	63.8
<b>IOWA</b>						
Hickenlooper (R)		53.9				
*MARTIN (R)			52.2			
<b>KANSAS</b>						
Carlson (R)		57.9			65.4	68.8
SCHOEPEL (R)			56.3			
<b>MICHIGAN</b>						
Hart (D)	<b>53.6</b>			50.6		
McNAMARA (D)			<b>50.8</b>			
<b>MINNESOTA</b>						
HUMPHREY (D)			<b>56.4</b>			
McCarthy (D)	<b>52.9</b>			56.6		
<b>MISSOURI</b>						
†HENNINGS (D)		<b>56.4</b>			49.9	50.7
Symington (D)	<b>66.4</b>			<b>54.1</b>		
<b>NEBRASKA</b>						
CURTIS (R)			61.1	63.6		65.5
Hruska (R)	55.6		60.9	69.1		
<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b>						
Case (R)		50.8			58.4	69.3
MUNDT (R)			57.3			



## FARM PROBLEMS EXAMINED, CANDIDATES' STANDS EXPLAINED

From the point of view both of statesmanship and of politics, the farm problem may well turn out to be "the most difficult domestic issue confronting the American people in this campaign," as Republican Presidential candidate Richard M. Nixon put it June 20. This Fact Sheet discusses the problem and the solutions offered by Nixon and his Democratic opponent for President, John F. Kennedy.

### Which Farmer, Which Problem?

Although farm surpluses are the most publicized of numerous farm problems, they are the concern of only about half the farmers in the U.S. According to preliminary census estimates for 1960, which count as farmers only persons both living and working on farms, farmers and members of their families total 16 million persons, about 9 percent of the U.S. population. Economically, these 16 million persons divide as follows:

- \* About 1 million are farm wage workers and members of their families living on farms.

- \* About 8.3 million are farm operators and members of their families with gross annual cash sales from farming of \$2,500 or more. These "commercial" farmers make over 90 percent of all cash sales.

- \* The remaining 6.7 million are farm operators and members of their families either with no sales at all or gross sales under \$2,500. Many live at a subsistence level on their own produce or supplement their incomes by part-time or seasonal work in cities and towns.

For each of these groups, the farm problem is a different problem.

For wage workers, the goal is higher wages and for many, protection of state and federal labor and welfare laws, most of which do not apply to farm workers. (Weekly Report p. 409)

For the subsistence farmer, the problem is the need for more public welfare aid and for better economic opportunities, possibly through leaving farming altogether.

Only for the commercial farmer, who produces for the market, are the questions of surpluses and the cost-price squeeze at the heart of the farm problem. Public debate has centered largely on the problems of this farmer.

### The Surplus Problem

At the heart of the surplus problem is the rapid growth of farm productivity, which has increased yields steadily since World War II. Between 1946 and 1959, corn production rose from 36.7 bushels per acre to 51.5; grain sorghums, from 15.9 to 37.2.

Food consumption has not risen as rapidly. This has produced an imbalance: the farmer grows more every year than people are buying. This surplus, if added to the market, would make the price drop. Many Democrats say even a small surplus in the existing market can cause extremely sharp price drops. Kennedy Aug. 22 said a 2

percent increase in overall food supplies would force farm prices down 20 percent. Most Republicans do not believe the ratio is so great.

But there is little debate on the likelihood that existing surpluses, if put into the market, would drive prices down sharply and hence lower the farmer's rate of profit. Less efficient farmers, operating on small profit margins already, would be forced out of business.

To prevent this, the Government tries to cut back supplies. It imposes acreage allotments -- limitations on how much land may be planted to certain crops. If a surplus nevertheless develops, the Government steps in and buys it up. It does this in two ways. First, it enlarges the "normal" market by buying about \$2 billion in food for foreign aid and welfare programs. Second, it stands ready to buy up the rest of the surplus, whatever it may be, at a fixed price. This has the effect of maintaining the general market level at that price. Food purchased in this second way is simply put into a stockpile. Some of it is later sold. The net cost is about \$2 billion a year, half of it for storage costs. At cost value, the U.S. stockpile as of Aug. 31 was worth \$7,259,663,945.

The net effect of these surplus disposal and price-support operations is to enlarge the farmer's market by about \$4 billion a year over normal commercial sales.

### The Cost-Price Squeeze

Closely tied to the surplus problem is the cost-price squeeze, which simply means that commercial farmers' production costs are rising faster than gross receipts. This means lower net income. According to the Agricultural Marketing Service, net income has dropped fairly steadily from 42 percent of gross income in 1950 to 31.1 percent in 1959.

The cost-price squeeze is particularly dangerous to the position of those commercial farmers who operate on too small a scale to reduce costs through large-scale operations and have too little capital to reduce costs through steady increases in mechanization. The larger a farmer's margin is, the more easily he can afford drops in prices. A small farmer with a slender profit margin might be wiped out by only a comparatively small drop in price.

The market position of the "small businessman-farmer" is indicated by 1954 census of agriculture figures. They show that of commercial farmers, those with gross sales of \$10,000 or more numbered 25 percent of the farmers but had 64 percent of all sales. The remaining 75 percent of the commercial farmers had only 36 percent of gross sales.

Since 1947, there has been a steady decline in the number of farmers and a rise in the size of farms. The number of farms (including subsistence) dropped from 5,871,000 in 1947 to 4,641,000 in 1959. It is believed that these figures reflect a weakening of the small commercial farmer's position as well as an exodus of many persons from subsistence farms.



### Income from Farming

(For Farm Operators, Millions of dollars)

	TOTAL GROSS INCOME*	PRODUCTION EXPENSES	NET INCOME		NET INCOME IN 1947-1949 DOLLARS	
			Amt.	% of Gross	Total	Per Farm†
1950	\$33,297	\$19,297	\$14,000	42.0%	\$13,875	\$2,457
1951	38,499	22,165	16,334	42.4	14,849	2,683
1952	37,937	22,600	15,337	40.4	137,780	2,542
1953	34,644	21,366	13,278	38.3	12,016	2,264
1954	34,355	21,664	12,691	36.9	11,433	2,198
1955	33,629	21,862	11,767	35.0	10,620	2,088
1956	34,211	22,594	11,617	34.0	10,335	2,080
1957	35,151	23,371	11,780	33.5	10,182	2,097
1958	39,253	25,236	14,017	35.7	11,899	2,506
1959	37,985	26,159	11,826	31.1	9,988	2,152

\*Includes price supports and other Government payments and rental value of farm housing as well as value of farm goods consumed on farm. Does not include farmer earnings from nonfarm sources which amounted to \$6.8 billion in 1959. †Dollars, not millions of dollars.

SOURCE: "THE FARM INCOME SITUATION," AGRICULTURAL MARKETING SERVICE, JULY 1960

The price-support system helps the small commercial farmer by attempting to maintain prices at a level at which he can operate and still make a profit. But in addition, the Government operates a number of special programs designed to help the less-efficient commercial farmer primarily. These and the price-support program are described below.

### Existing Programs

#### Price Programs

The Government maintains numerous price-support operations. All are designed to keep surpluses off the market -- either by restricting production, or by Government "removal" of surpluses -- and thus maintain a high market price. Most are administered by a special U.S. agency set up for this purpose, the Commodity Credit Corp. (CCC). These programs (with their annual costs) are:

**Foreign Aid and Welfare** -- In order to help exporters compete in world markets, the Government pays subsidies to exporters of grains, cotton and rice. This enables the exporters to sell at the lower world price, after buying at domestic prices, without a loss. Such subsidies probably amount to several hundred million dollars a year; their cost is not shown separately in the budget but is distributed among various other items.

Under the National School Lunch Act and the special school milk program (included in PL 81-439) the Government makes direct cash grants to the states for purchase of food and milk for school nonprofit food programs. This in effect creates new markets for these products. Costs in fiscal 1960: \$153 million and \$82 million respectively.

Under Section 32 of PL 74-320 (1935), 30 percent of annual tariff receipts may be used to purchase farm goods for which some immediate use may be found. Section 32 funds, totalling \$88 million in fiscal 1960, are used in a number of ways for food welfare donations and stimulating exports.

Under Title I of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (PL 83-480), the Treasury, in effect, with the aid of private merchants, buys U.S. farm goods and sells them overseas for foreign currencies,

which the Government then uses for various purposes. Cost in 1960: \$1,059,000,000. (Weekly Report p. 1041)

Under Title II of PL 480, the Government ships food overseas for disaster relief. Cost in 1960: \$70 million.

Under Title III of PL 480, the Government donates food to the unemployed and persons in disaster areas of the U.S. (\$1,093,667); and makes food donations to welfare agencies in the U.S. (\$82 million) and abroad (\$130.8 million). Also under Title III, food stocks are swapped for strategic materials (\$171 million).

Under other laws, donations of food are made to federal and state penal institutions, and payments are made to

### Income and Costs, 1959

(millions of dollars)

#### GROSS INCOME, 1959

Cash receipts from marketing (includes price support loans and purchases)	\$33,146
Government payments (represents soil bank, soil conservation, sugar and wool act payments)	681
Non-money income	
Net increase in inventories	518
Rental value of housing	2,012
Livestock and livestock produce consumed on farm	1,064
Crops consumed on farm	465
Fuel wood	99
<b>Total gross income from farming</b>	<b>\$37,985</b>

#### PRODUCTION EXPENSES, 1959

Current operating expenses	
Feed purchases	\$ 4,623
Livestock purchases	2,727
Seed purchases	534
Fertilizer and lime purchases	1,444
Repair and operation of capital items	4,087
Miscellaneous	2,664
Hired labor	2,929
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>\$19,008</b>
Depreciation and other consumption of capital	\$ 4,125
Taxes on farm property	1,445
Interest on mortgage debt	580
Net rent to nonfarm landlords	1,001
<b>Total expenses</b>	<b>\$26,159</b>
<b>Net farm income to farm operators (gross income less expenses):</b>	<b>\$11,826</b>

Farms: 4,641,000.

Operators total net income per farm: \$2,548

(SOURCE: "THE FARM INCOME SITUATION" JULY 1960, AGRICULTURAL MARKETING SERVICE)

veterans' and armed forces hospitals for certain milk purchases in excess of normal requirements (\$23 million).

Although most of the programs described above were initiated primarily to make use of farm surpluses, they have been defended by both Nixon and Kennedy as justified on other grounds -- foreign policy or public welfare.

**Price Supports** -- The Government also supports farm prices by standing ready to buy any and all supplies at some fixed price. This sustains the market at the support level, since no one need sell for less when he can get the support price from the Government. Congress has made supports mandatory at present for wheat, cotton, rice, corn, peanuts, tobacco, butterfat and manufacturing milk, honey, tung nuts, small feed grains (oats, barley, rye and grain sorghums) and wool (the wool program is somewhat different, involving a direct payment). Supports are optional for other crops, according to the judgment of the Secretary of Agriculture. In 1960, crude pine gum, dry edible beans, flaxseed, soybeans and cottonseed were also supported.

The level of support is based on the parity concept and is fixed by law within certain limits. The parity concept involves a complicated formula which attempts to determine how much a farmer should receive for a unit of produce -- say a bushel of wheat -- in order to buy as much with his receipts as he could in the years 1910-14 with the proceeds from a bushel of wheat. Ninety percent of parity is generally considered a high support level, 70 or 75 percent middling, below that relatively low.

In recent years Democrats generally have supported high support levels, the Administration lower levels.

Although supports are available for only a small number of crops, they are the most important crops. A House Government Operations Committee report (H Rept 2219) of Aug. 31 estimated that about 42 percent of farmers' cash receipts come from sales of crops and dairy products for which supports are available; and another 42 percent from sales of meat and poultry products, which are raised largely on feed grains for which price supports are available.

The four biggest items in the \$7.3 billion Government stockpile as of Aug. 31 were (by cost value): wheat, \$3 billion; corn, \$2.1 billion; upland cotton, \$865 million; grain sorghum, \$839 million. Under a 1954 law, a large portion of stocks was designated as defense "set-asides."

**Acreage Allotments** -- Also to restrict the supply reaching the market, the Government imposes limits on acreage that may be planted to wheat, cotton, peanuts, rice and tobacco. (A national allotment is set, then shared out among producers on the basis of their history of production.) Rising yields per acre, particularly for wheat, have reduced the effectiveness of acreage restrictions in cutting supply. Under the wheat program, the "basic" allotment is 82 million acres. This may be lowered by the Secretary of Agriculture if an oversupply appears likely, but the minimum it can be lowered to is 55 million acres, set in 1938.

**Soil Bank** -- Another device for reducing production is the soil bank, created in 1956. (1956 Almanac p. 375) Under this program, land was temporarily retired from production of crops in surplus (acreage reserve program) or retired over longer fixed periods of up to 10 years and devoted to specified conservation practices (conservation reserve program). Farmers received compensatory payments from the Government for crops they would have planted. The acreage reserve program expired with the 1959 crop year and was not renewed. Authority for the

Government to make new contracts with farmers for conservation reserve lapsed in 1960 and was not extended by Congress. But 10-year conservation reserve contracts concluded in 1960 will run through 1970, so costs of the program will continue until then. The fact that farmers put only their poorest acres into the soil bank, or put their whole farms into the conservation reserve and then left the area, or allegedly did not comply with conservation requirements, made this a controversial program. Cost in 1960: \$323 million.

**Direct Payments** -- Instead of using price supports the Government aids sugar and wool producers by making direct payments to them. These amounted to \$94 million for wool and \$74 million for sugar in 1960.

### Special Services

The Government provides numerous special services to farmers, many aimed to help the small farmer combat the cost-price squeeze. Farmers and farmer cooperatives get special tax exemptions, for example. In addition:

The Federal Crop Insurance Corp. furnishes non-profit federal insurance against natural hazards.

The Farmers' Home Administration provides low-cost Government credit (usually at 5 percent or less) to farmers normally unable to borrow elsewhere. For the same type of farmer, the Government helps obtain private credit by guaranteeing private lenders against loss on loans at 4 percent. On the latter, the Government places an additional 1 percent charge (making 5 percent in all) to the borrower to cover service and insurance charges. Under these programs, the small farmer gets loans for improvement and construction of farm building, operating costs, soil and water development, housing, purchase of livestock, and disaster recovery. On June 30, 1960 the Farmers Home Administration had loans outstanding of \$939 million and it was guaranteeing another \$161 million in private loans.

The Rural Electrification Administration furnishes low-cost Government credit (2 percent interest) to cooperatives for development of rural electric and telephone services. REA had loans outstanding of \$3.2 billion on June 30, 1960.

The Farm Credit Administration operates or supervises three different types of credit services for farmers. Interest on long-term loans is limited to 6 percent. The three services: (1) The 12 FCA banks for cooperatives, whose stock is owned largely by the Government, make loans to farmer cooperatives. Loans outstanding on June 30, 1959 totalled \$526 million. (2) The 12 federal intermediate banks, financed through sale of stock to the public, make short-term loans to farmer production credit associations, which in turn make loans to individual farmers. The intermediate banks had \$1,547,000,000 outstanding on June 30, 1959. (3) The 12 federal land banks, whose stock is owned by over 900 farmer loan associations, channel private credit to farmers through farmer loan groups. The 12 land banks had \$2,262,000,000 in loans outstanding on June 30, 1959.

Under the rural roads program, the Government builds farm-to-market roads.

Under the Agricultural Conservation Program, the Government pays farmers part of the costs of soil conservation practices that improve the farmers' land.

The Agriculture Department Extension Service maintains a federal agent in every farm county to teach farmers improved farming and homemaking methods.

The Soil Conservation Service operates numerous conservation programs.

The Forest Service administers the national forests and carries on pest-control and conservation activities.

The Agricultural Marketing Service provides marketing advice and numerous other services to farmers.

The Agricultural Research Service carries on disease and pest control programs, research into ways of improving yields and expanding the use of farm goods.

Which of these programs simply represent subsidies to the farmer and which benefit the whole nation has long been disputed. For fiscal 1960, the Agriculture Department classified only \$2.5 billion of a \$5.4 billion budget as being primarily for the benefit of the farmer. Only wool (\$92 million) and sugar (\$74 million) subsidies, net losses on CCC price-support operations (\$1.7 billion), the Agricultural Conservation Program (\$239 million), the Soil Bank (\$323 million) and \$41 million in administrative expenses were classified as "predominantly for the benefit of the farmer." All the other programs described above were classified as having multiple benefits.

### Nixon's Views

Surpluses -- Vice President Nixon's 1960 farm program appears to develop from the assumption that, left to itself, the farm market would balance according to the laws of supply and demand at prices that would yield efficient producers a reasonable profit. When prices dropped below that level, the least efficient producers would be forced out of farming and the others would cut back production. Both these events would create scarcity, which in turn would bring prices up again. According to this view, supply and demand in a free market are automatically in balance. The reason for the current imbalance is high Government price supports that have prevented prices from dropping when the normal operations of the market required them to. This in turn has kept production higher than necessary. The solution is a return to a semi-free market after a transition period in which supply is gradually adjusted to demand.

A transition period is needed because annual surpluses are so high at present that a sudden jump to a near-free market would drop prices and profit margins sharply and wipe out most of the less efficient farmers -- mainly the small, family farmer. In effect, the surplus would be eliminated largely by cutting off the whole lower half of the commercial farmer group while the upper half continued to produce its usual amount. The transition period would be used to prevent this and make every farmer cut back a little.

To eliminate existing surpluses in four years, Nixon proposes:

- A sharp intensification of existing PL 480 Title I and Title II programs under which food is sold for foreign currencies or donated to disaster areas overseas; and in addition, efforts to aid needy peoples by contributions of food through the auspices of the United Nations.

- Expansion of existing defense "set-asides" into a strategic food reserve, to be stored in places safe from possible radiation contamination, dispersed throughout the nation.

- Paying farmers who agree to retire certain lands from production with surpluses-in-kind from Government stockpiles.

- Conversion of Government grain surpluses into meat and animal products by feeding to livestock. The animals

### Expenditures for Agriculture

The chart below shows federal budget expenditures for agriculture programs for fiscal 1960. Export subsidies, except for those supporting the International Wheat Agreement, are distributed into various categories, as are certain of the food donations. (Under the International Wheat Agreement, the U.S. and a number of other wheat-surplus nations agree to provide fixed quantities of wheat at certain prices to members of the agreement that are wheat-deficit nations. Since these prices are generally below the domestic U.S. price, the Government subsidizes the exports.)

The Commodity Credit Corp.'s net annual loss is computed by deducting dollar cash income received by the Government from sales of items in the CCC stockpile from cash expenditures for items going into the stockpile.

"Sales for foreign currencies" represents annual dollar cost of the program; it does not take into account any use of the foreign currencies so acquired. Figures for REA and FHA represent loans made in fiscal 1960. These loans are wholly repayable.

(Millions of dollars)

#### PRICE SUPPORT AND SUBSIDY PROGRAMS

Regular CCC operations, net loss	\$1,705
Special surplus-disposal programs	
*Sales for foreign currencies	
(PL 480, Title I)	1,059
*Emergency overseas famine aid	
(PL 480, Title II)	70
*Bartered for strategic materials	
(PL 480, Title III)	171
*Overseas military housing	6
*International Wheat Agreement subsidies	51
*Section 32 food distributions	88
*School lunch program	153
*School milk program	82
*Veterans' and armed services	
special milk program	23
Conservation Reserve Program	323
Wool Act payments	92
Sugar Act payments	74
Miscellaneous	41

#### OTHER OPERATIONS

Agricultural Conservation Program	239
*REA loans (repayable)	321
*FHA loans (repayable)	272
Agriculture Department Services	
*Forest Service	205
*Agricultural Research Service	172
*Soil Conservation Service	131
*Extension Service	64
*Farmers Home Administration (expenses)	31
*Other	18
*Agricultural Marketing Service	38
	<hr/>
	\$5,429

\*Classified as multiple benefit programs by Agriculture Department.



would be slaughtered and the meat and products (eggs, powdered milk) packaged on a bulk basis and distributed to school lunch programs and various domestic and foreign donation programs under Title III of PL 480. Farmers who undertook this feeding work for the Government would be paid, probably in grain.

This stepup of existing foreign aid and donations programs would add about \$500 million to \$1 billion a year to the nation's current bill for farm programs, the Vice President's aides said.

To end annual surpluses, the Vice President proposes a "crash agricultural research program" to seek more uses of farm goods and possibly expand the market, and these production cutback techniques:

- A substantial but temporary increase in the soil bank conservation reserve acreage (now 28 million acres). Fertile acres as well as marginal would be taken out of production at a "fair" rental to the farmer retiring them and placed in the conservation reserve for periods of three to 10 years. However, really productive acres would have to be retired, real conservation practices followed and injuries to local communities (presumably those that might result from retirement of whole farms) avoided.

- Also to reduce production, Nixon proposes a temporary cutback in acreage allotments of crops heavily in surplus. Acres thus cut back would have to go into the soil bank. Farmers would receive payments-in-kind from Government stocks to compensate for lost production.

- During the transition period, price support levels would be maintained high enough to prevent "harmful adjustments" in price.

The length of the transition period is unspecified. The proposal to get rid of existing surplus stockpiles in four years suggests transition will last that long, but the duration of the proposed soil bank plan (10 years) suggests transition may be longer than four years.

At the end of the transition period, with existing surplus stockpiles eliminated and no new annual surpluses being produced to depress prices, market prices in response to the reduced supply would rise by themselves above current price levels and yield farmers a greater income than at present. It would not be necessary to support prices any longer except under special conditions.

Nixon foresees a rise in market prices, at the end of the transition period, further guaranteed by a vast world upsurge in demand for food, as population mounts rapidly and formerly poor nations begin eating meats and other high-resource-using foods. Then, he says, the present overcapacity may well be converted into undercapacity.

Having reached a free market, Nixon would retain a few stabilizers, not to prevent long-range contraction-expansion trends (although as noted he expects demand to expand sharply, not contract), but to cushion against such trends. Thus, acreage allotments might be retained to prevent overrapid expansion of supplies of a crop, and price supports, based on some percentage of average market prices for several years preceding the crop year for which supports are being set, would be used to slow but not stop downward trends in prices.

**Tobacco Supports** -- In a Sept. 7 letter to Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R Ky.), Nixon endorsed the existing tobacco program, whose chief features are high price supports and acreage allotments cutback by voluntary decision of the producers every three years. The tobacco

program also has the severest penalties of any program for overplanting. Nixon said producers' voluntary cutbacks to keep market prices high had made the program successful.

**Cost-Price Squeeze** -- To help alleviate the cost-price squeeze for all commercial farmers, not only those in crops that are in surplus, Nixon pledges continued efforts against inflation, attempts to develop new farm goods markets, Government "support of producer cooperatives" and strengthening of the various credit facilities, marketing services and production aids of the Agriculture Department enumerated above: "This specifically includes maintenance of the present interest rates for activities clearly related to the needs of rural areas." No specific programs are mentioned but presumably this covers at least the activities of the REA and the Farmers' Home Administration.

**Subsistence Farmers** -- For the subsistence farmer, Nixon pledges efforts in training at better farm methods, development of light industry in rural areas, vocational training in nonfarm skills and job placement efforts in nonfarm employment. His platform calls for expansion of the Rural Development Program, under which various Government efforts of the types enumerated above are coordinated, particularly in areas of rural blight, for greatest effect.

**Council** -- To advise the President on farm programs, Nixon proposes formation by law of a representative council of farmers and ranchers.

## Kennedy's Position

**Surpluses** -- For Kennedy, the chief problem for the commercial farmer is not surpluses but the elevation of each farmer to "full parity of income" with the nonfarm population. This means, as Kennedy has defined it, a rate of return on capital and labor equivalent to what the same resources could earn in nonfarm fields. Kennedy aides have indicated this would require a 30 percent increase in net income for the average commercial farmer.

Kennedy's approach, somewhat like Nixon's, is to try to raise consumption and at the same time prevent surpluses from reaching the market where they will shatter prices.

In order to use up existing surpluses and also widen the permanent market for food products, thereby narrowing the size of the surplus, Kennedy proposes a vast increase in foreign aid and welfare donations. Most of the programs which he would expand he indicates are completely justified in their own right and are not merely surplus-disposal mechanisms.

Thus, he would establish a "positive food and nutrition policy" for all Americans and channel more food into the school lunch, relief and similar domestic programs to raise dietary standards. Through a food-stamp program for the needy, the unemployed, aged and handicapped would receive foods sufficient to sustain them at a high dietary level. At the same time, national security food stockpiles would be enlarged, donations to overseas charities and disaster programs boosted. Under UN sponsorship, an international food conference should be held, he says, to set up a world food bank to channel supplies to needy nations.

Kennedy stresses the idea that U.S. farm capacities can be used to help underdeveloped nations reach the economic takeoff point; that is, to sustain workers building up economically backward countries.

After all these existing programs are expanded, there might still remain a surplus threatening to farm prices and farmer income, however. Therefore some device would still be needed to keep a surplus off the market.

The chief device Kennedy would use for this purpose is what he calls "supply management" -- in effect, quotas on how much can be sold in the market. Kennedy chooses this technique as the one best suited to deal with the surplus problem as he interprets it.

That interpretation appears to be based on the views of Prof. Willard W. Cochrane of the University of Minnesota, one of Kennedy's chief farm advisers. Cochrane believes that even in the face of falling profits, the ordinary producer does not cut back his production. One reason is that his capital -- land and farm machines -- is not mobile and cannot be put to other uses -- sometimes not even to other crops -- easily. For this reason, he has no alternative but to seek to boost total sales to keep overall profits from falling, even though per-unit profits fall. The result is continued high production, continued surpluses and continued low prices, with profit margins getting smaller and smaller.

Even when he nears ruin, this producer may not leave farming for years, because he is trained for nothing else and, with relatively high unemployment elsewhere, has no place to go. The result is continual surpluses.

In the long run, the virtual impoverishment of the family farmer does cause farm failures and cutbacks in investment, manpower and hence farm production, but it is many years before this happens, Cochrane says. If several million farmers were able to act concertedly to restrict sales, this situation might be different. But only the Government, in effect acting for them, would be able to do this, Cochrane says.

This is the essence of the supply management idea and Kennedy has taken it over from Cochrane. The steps are as follows as Kennedy outlines them:

First, determine what return you wish the producers to have. Kennedy has already determined this: full parity of income. This will be worked out in dollars and cents.

Second, calculate the level of prices necessary to produce that return.

Third, calculate how large a supply must be released into the market to yield that level of prices. Make up a national sales quota based on this figure.

Fourth, give each producer a certificate based on his past marketing history showing how much of the annual supply quota he can sell personally. Do not permit larger sales.

For some commodities like feed grains, which do not pass through the market, it might be necessary to use acreage restrictions to achieve the desired ends; and occasionally, to keep farmer income high, other devices like direct payments to farmers, or retirement of land into a soil conservation program, or price supports (if demand unexpectedly fell below the quota), might be used. But supply management -- which Kennedy likens to administered prices -- is his basic answer on how to raise farm income and make surplus stockpiles unnecessary.

The supply-management concept makes much use of the assumption that, in the current market, a tiny surplus drives prices down sharply. The other end of this assumption is that small shortage jacks prices up sharply. If current market supplies were cut only very slightly by supply management, there would be a radical improve-

ment in the price to the farmer. Since the farmer gets only 38 cents out of every retail dollar (shippers, packers and merchants get the rest), and since he is the only one whose income is going to be raised, a comparatively small increase in retail prices (Kennedy aides estimate 15 percent) would be necessary to raise farmer income a net of 30 percent.

Kennedy proposes to have supply management programs administered by local farmers. No program would be undertaken without consent of two-thirds of the farmers involved.

**Cost-Price Squeeze** -- Specifically for the small family farmer, Kennedy proposes continuation of all existing policies, broad expansion of research and "massive doses of credit," in the words of one Kennedy adviser, to help the family farmer acquire housing, modernize his production techniques and acquire larger-scale holdings. Similar aid would be given to cooperatives. Kennedy also calls for a "hard-driving soil, water and wild-life conservation program." Kennedy's statement that what is needed is "revitalizing our agricultural credit agencies so that farmers can get the credit they need, and at interest rates they can afford, to modernize and expand" appears to be a much stronger commitment to large-scale spending along these lines than Nixon's; and Kennedy's phrase "at interest rates they can afford" appears to imply rates lower than the current 5 percent Farmers' Home Administration rate, and contrasts with Nixon's call for maintenance of current rates.

**Subsistence Farmers** -- Kennedy proposes "vastly increased amounts of supervised credit" to permit subsistence and semi-subsistence farmers to increase their land holdings, buy machinery and become commercial farmers on a competitive scale. He also favors development of industry in rural locations (through depressed areas-type legislation and in general extension of credit to businesses wishing to locate in rural blight areas), training for nonfarm vocations, and better job placement facilities.

**Tobacco Program** -- Kennedy Oct. 8 said the high supports in the tobacco program, and that program's success, were an example of what a "Democratic" program could do for the farmers.

## Charges and Countercharges

Kennedy and his aides say the Nixon plan would eventually ruin the small family farmer. As the transition period ended and farmers went over to a semi-free market with few production curbs, the argument runs, the normal tendency of every farmer to expand production would be permitted wide play; new surpluses would develop and prices would drop. A price support system based on some percent of average prices for previous years could not prevent this drop, merely slow it down somewhat. Kennedy Oct. 1 said prices would drop 40 percent in two years. The result would be smaller profit margins and the ruin of the least efficient producers. One possible consequence of this, a top staff member of Farmers for Kennedy told CQ, would be gradual acquisition of the whole farm economy by a comparatively small number of giant producers -- the efficient ones who could do best in a free market -- who could then "manage" market supplies for their own benefit, ending competition and cartelizing agriculture.

Nixon and his aides say the Kennedy plan would mean almost complete Government control over agriculture, a



vast expansion in the number of Government inspectors needed, because of the danger of a black market, and a very sharp rise in retail prices. Nixon Oct. 4 said this rise would be 25 percent, not 15 percent as some Kennedy sources estimated. Some of Nixon's aides told CQ 25 percent was a conservative figure; 40 percent was more likely, they said. Nixon said meat supplies would fall to the rationing level of World War II or below, the consumer price index would rise 6 percent and an inflationary spiral would be set off. The decrease in production would destroy 1 million farm jobs and the livelihoods of another million persons in small businesses serving farmers.

Nixon aides also said the Kennedy plan, in effect, protected all producers -- efficient or inefficient -- against competition.

## Political Factors

**Farm Population** -- Statesmanship aside, neither party can afford to slight the farmer in this election year. For while farm population has been declining steadily throughout the 20th century, farmers and their families still constitute a sizable bloc of the population and electorate.

Preliminary census figures for 1960 -- counting as farmers only those who live and work on farms, and not mere residents who work elsewhere -- put current farm population at about 16 million, or about 9 percent of total national population.

According to rough CQ estimates, farm population, although negligible in the East (3.3 percent) and small in the West (5.7 percent), is more substantial in the North Central states (10.1 percent) and South (14.5 percent). In the latter two regions (particularly in the West North Central states where the percent is 15.6), even allowing for the effect of the one-party system in the South, farmers and those who depend on their trade are potentially a formidable political factor. And even in the East and West, farmers could wield the balance of power in many states if they voted as a bloc.

A number of factors tend to minimize farmer influence in certain areas. About half of the 16 million farm population are wage workers or subsistence farmers and members of their families. It is probably safe to say that the majority of this group does not vote. The largest portion of this group lives in the South, which has half the nation's farm population and is also classified as a farm "low-income" area.

**Anti-Farm Vote** -- The anti-farm vote could be influential in the election, too. Urban resentment of federal price support policies and the high cost of food was illustrated June 23 in a House vote on a bill (HR 12261) that probably would have led to increased price supports for wheat. The measure was backed by the Democratic leadership and represented traditional party policy. Yet of 56 Democrats from Chicago, Albany, New York, Schenectady, Buffalo, Philadelphia and urban districts in Connecticut, New Jersey, Massachusetts and Rhode Island, only 52 voted, and 42 of them voted against the bill. (Weekly Report p. 1114)

The political difficulties of formulating a farm policy and winning the farm vote are exacerbated by regional rivalries within the farm community itself. A few examples may suffice to sketch the nature of this problem:

**Wheat-Corn** -- Farmers in the corn-belt area, centering around Iowa, Nebraska, Illinois, and Indiana, are

extremely wary of any proposed solutions to the wheat problem that might result in "dumping a lot of cheap wheat in the corn-feed grain area," as Rep. Charles B. Hoeven (R Iowa) put it March 10 at a House Agriculture Committee hearing.

At its current support prices, wheat cannot compete with corn and small feed grains as an animal feed. But if the wheat price were permitted to drop, as it might be under some plans which envision a two-price system under which wheat used for feed would not be supported by the Government, it might fall low enough to compete with corn as an animal feed. Such proposals have advocates in the Great Plains wheat belt. Corn-belt farmers also fear cutbacks in wheat acreage allotments that would result in planting of feed grains, in competition with those in the corn belt, on acres cut back from wheat, as occurred in Texas where grain sorghums became a major crop in former wheat areas.

**Cheap Feed** -- For almost every state of the union, meat, dairy and poultry products are the biggest source of cash receipts. Corn and feed grains, a major food source for livestock, are grown largely in the Midwest. Other, "feed deficit" states have to import feed from there. Tendency in most feed-deficit areas, particularly in the East, is to oppose policies that would raise the price of corn and feed grains. The 12 feed-surplus states in 1959: Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, Kansas, Nebraska, New Mexico and Montana.

**Cheap Feed-Expensive Feed** -- Within the feed area itself, there are two schools of thought on feed prices. One holds that high feed supports are desirable. This will prevent too much feed from nourishing bumper crops of meat animals. A meat surplus with a disastrous downturn of meat prices will be avoided. The other holds that demand for meat is much more elastic than demand for feed grains, hence it is better to keep feed prices low, raise a lot of meat animals but have a good chance to sell them at fair prices.

**15-Acre Exemption** -- Except in a few states where production is negligible, all wheat farmers have wheat acreage allotments. Farmers who plant more than the permitted acreage must pay penalties. But a farmer whose allotment is less than 15 acres may overplant, and grow up to a total (including his allotment) of 15 acres without having to pay penalties. He frequently takes full advantage of this exemption. Farmers who come under this exemption number about 1.3 million. They plant 8 million acres of wheat a year and grow 240 million bushels of wheat. These farmers are located almost entirely in Ohio, Virginia, New York, Michigan, Tennessee, Kentucky, Indiana, Minnesota and Missouri.

In the wheat belt -- the Dakotas, Montana, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Colorado and Texas -- there are 500,000 farmers who plant 52 million acres and harvest 950 million bushels of wheat a year. Their complaint is that overplanting under the 15-acre exemption produces a large share of the annual wheat surplus of approximately 250 million bushels.

**Cotton** -- Producers in the Old South -- many of them poor tenant farmers and small family farmers -- usually have tiny allotments (under 15 acres) and farm by hand. But in the Southwest farms are much larger (averages: Nevada, 166.2 acres; California, 52.9; New Mexico, 33.2; Arizona, 90.4) and usually mechanized. This leads to conflicts over support programs; big farmers in the Southwest prefer a price-support program

that permits a producer to overplant and take a lower support price (because of low production costs they can make more money this way); producers in the Old South want high supports with no overplanting.

**Rich Man-Poor Man** -- All of the Old South and most of the border states, as well as areas in New Mexico, Ohio and Pennsylvania, northern Minnesota and Wisconsin, northwest Washington state and spots of Oregon and Montana, are classified as low-income farm areas. In the South, the area with the largest farm population (half the nation's total), many farmers depend on small plots of peanuts, cotton and tobacco for their livelihood. Any solution to the price-support problem that would substantially lessen income from these crops could have disastrous effects in this area.

**Farmer-Processor** -- According to some sources, there is a basic conflict between the farmer and the processor to whom he sells. The farmer's share of the retail dollar is only 38 cents. The processor wants to lower this figure, the farmer to raise it.

### Farm Population by Percent

The following chart is a very rough guide to the percentage of farmers in the total population of each state in 1960. Actual figures will not be available until 1960 census reports are published.

CQ computed the figures below as follows: on the basis of regional estimates by the Agriculture Department of farm population in 1959, CQ calculated percentage changes for each region since 1950. The regional percentage change was then applied against the 1950 census figures of population in each state in the region,

yielding a putative farm population in 1959. This, divided by 1959 Census estimates of total state population, yielded a percentage showing farm population in each state in 1959.

However, in 1960 the Census Bureau began counting as farmers only persons living and working on farms. Previously residents who worked elsewhere but lived on farms were counted. As a result, 1960 census figures will show an apparent drop of 25 percent, from 21,172,000 to about 16,000,000, from 1959 to 1960. Although many states actually lost less, and many lost more, than 25 percent, CQ simply cut 25 percent from the 1959 figure for each state to get a 1960 percent. Actually, the Southern and border states probably lost more than 25 percent and the Midwestern -- particularly the West North Central -- far less.

EAST				CENTRAL			
Maine	10.1	Conn.	2.2	Ohio	6.8	Iowa	17.8
N.H.	6.6	N.Y.	2.8	Ind.	10.9	Mo.	13.4
Vt.	15.5	N.J.	1.6	Ill.	5.6	N.D.	24.8
Mass.	1.4	Pa.	5.0	Mich.	6.8	S.D.	23.2
R.I.	1.0			Wis.	13.3	Neb.	17.0
				Minn.	14.0	Kan.	13.4
SOUTH				WEST			
Del.	5.5	Ky.	20.1	Mont.	12.9	Utah	6.9
Md.	4.4	Tenn.	18.9	Idaho	16.7	Nev.	3.2
Va.	13.0	Ala.	19.5	Wyo.	11.8	Wash.	8.0
W.Va.	14.9	Miss.	31.8	Colo.	7.9	Ore.	10.7
N.C.	20.8	Ark.	27.5	N.M.	10.1	Calif.	3.3
S.C.	20.0	La.	10.8	Ariz.	4.2		
Ga.	17.3	Okla.	14.6				
Fla.	3.5	Texas	8.3				

## Negro Voting-Age Population by State and Region

Figures released by the Census Bureau Oct. 16 show estimated state population of voting age and Negro population of voting age as of November 1960. Percentages of Negro population of voting age of state voting age population were determined by Congressional Quarterly. The Census Bureau figures are projections of the 1950 census, considering migration and death rate factors. States with less than 50 thousand Negroes of voting age were not counted individually because of possible inaccuracies in the estimating process. Their totals are found as part of the "balance" section in their region. Figures do not give eligible voters, for those of voting age may be ineligible for other reasons. Figures are given in thousands.

Division and State	Total Voting-Age Population	Negro Voting-Age Population	Percentage Negro Voting-Age Pop.
United States	106,974	9,988	9.3
<b>New England</b>	6,525	131	2.0
Massachusetts	3,230	62	1.9
Connecticut	1,590	58	3.6
Balance <sup>1</sup>	1,704	11	.6
<b>Middle Atlantic</b>	21,718	1,543	7.1
New York	10,788	761	7.0
New Jersey	3,827	283	7.4
Pennsylvania	7,102	499	7.0
<b>East North Central</b>	21,754	1,577	7.2
Ohio	5,833	432	7.4
Indiana	2,784	155	5.6
Illinois	6,244	567	9.1
Michigan	4,519	386	8.5
Balance <sup>2</sup>	2,373	36	1.5
<b>West North Central</b>	9,233	319	3.4
Missouri	2,651	222	8.4
Kansas	1,315	52	3.9
Balance <sup>3</sup>	5,267	45	.8

Division and State	Total Voting-Age Population	Negro Voting-Age Population	Percentage Negro Voting-Age Pop.
<b>South Atlantic</b>	15,092	3,068	20.3
Maryland	1,819	286	15.7
District of Columbia	492	244	49.6
Virginia	2,244	439	19.6
North Carolina	2,521	547	21.7
South Carolina	1,227	379	30.9
Georgia	2,342	613	26.2
Florida	3,099	477	15.4
Balance <sup>4</sup>	1,349	83	6.1
<b>East South Central</b>	6,944	1,363	19.6
Kentucky	1,876	136	7.2
Tennessee	2,079	298	14.3
Alabama	1,825	506	27.7
Mississippi	1,163	423	36.4
<b>West South Central</b>	9,527	1,421	14.9
Arkansas	1,029	197	19.1
Louisiana	1,770	518	29.3
Oklahoma	1,399	82	5.9
Texas	5,329	624	11.7
<b>Mountain<sup>5</sup></b>	3,766	64	1.7
<b>Pacific</b>	12,415	502	4.0
California	9,219	465	5.0
Balance <sup>6</sup>	3,196	38	1.2

<sup>1</sup> Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont.

<sup>2</sup> Wisconsin.

<sup>3</sup> Minnesota, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Nebraska.

<sup>4</sup> Delaware and West Virginia.

<sup>5</sup> Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, and Nevada.

<sup>6</sup> Washington, Oregon, Alaska, and Hawaii.

## PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

**T.V. Debates** -- Presidential candidates Richard M. Nixon and John F. Kennedy Oct. 13 and 21 had the third and fourth in their series of nationally broadcast debates. (For text of third debate see page 1753; text of fourth debate will be carried in Weekly Report of Oct. 28.)

There was a slight flurry after the third program because Kennedy had quoted from a paper during the debate. Nixon said he was "shocked"; his aids said reading from notes broke the rules which had been laid down for conducting the debates. Kennedy's aide said there had been no such understanding. Nixon Oct. 15 said he was dropping the matter and would have no objection if Kennedy brought notes to the final debate.

Disagreement continued on whether to hold a fifth debate, closer to the Nov. 8 election date. Nixon Oct. 17 continued earlier objections to the Democratic-proposed program, saying his schedule would not allow him to participate and as an alternative suggested that a second hour be added to the fourth debate and be given to answering questions submitted by the public. Kennedy Oct. 17 refused this suggestion and said he would adjust his schedule in anyway to meet Nixon "anywhere in the country," for a fifth debate. Kennedy Oct. 19 said he had no objection to a two hour fourth debate but did not consider this a substitute for another debate nearer election day. "Why is Mr. Nixon unwilling to give one more hour of his time to 70 million viewers in the last 18 days?" Kennedy asked. "Why is a man who boasts of his debate against Khrushchev reluctant to debate before the American voters?" (Weekly Report p. 1712)

**Nixon-Lodge** -- Two disagreements on policy between Nixon and his running mate Henry Cabot Lodge showed up as Lodge Oct. 9 stated, as he had before, he was in favor of giving federal aid to parochial schools and Oct. 12 in Harlem said he thought there "should be a Negro in the Cabinet." Nixon in an interview released Oct. 13 said he was in favor of letting states receiving federal aid funds decide which schools should receive them. Lodge Oct. 13, in Virginia, said he had not made a pledge to put a Negro in the Cabinet and said his remarks represented his own feelings. Lodge's earlier remark reportedly caused some alarm among GOP southern campaign forces headed by I. Lee Potter. Lodge had been quoted in the Harlem remarks as calling his program "a pledge". In statements after an Oct. 16 meeting in Hartford, to which Nixon Oct. 14 called Lodge, Nixon said he would not commit himself to appointing a Negro to the Cabinet but would choose the "best men". Lodge, in upstate New York Oct. 18, was reported repeating his proposal and saying, "This is a promise". Later in the day he denied he had said "promise" and used instead the word "guess."

Kennedy and Democratic Vice Presidential candidate Lyndon B. Johnson Oct. 17 and 18 attacked the Lodge position. Johnson said "a man's race, religion or section of birth" should not bar him from any position but a Cabinet post should not "be set aside for a Negro". Kennedy called the position "racism in reverse...I do not promise to consider race or religion in my appointments -- I promise only that I will not consider them."

**Eisenhower Role** -- Nixon Oct. 14 confirmed reports that President Eisenhower would serve in some capacity in working for peace in a Nixon Administration. Kennedy Oct. 14 said the next president, "whoever he is, should use the talents of President Eisenhower in the area of world peace" and suggested that ex-President Harry S. Truman and Herbert Hoover be used also.

**Religious Issue** -- A series of press reports Oct. 16 said many Protestant churchmen were planning an extensive anti-Catholic drive on Kennedy to begin Reformation Sunday, Oct. 30, and continue until election day.

## CANDIDATES' CALENDAR

(For previous calendar see Weekly Report p. 1712)

## KENNEDY

- Oct. 13 -- New York City, debate with Nixon.
- Oct. 14 -- Detroit and Michigan whistlestop campaigning.
- Oct. 15 -- Pennsylvania campaigning; Washington, D.C.
- Oct. 16 -- Levittown, N.J.; Wilmington; Washington, D.C.; Silver Spring, Md.
- Oct. 17 -- Ohio campaigning.
- Oct. 18 -- Miami for American Legion speech; northern Florida campaigning.
- Oct. 19 -- New York City campaigning.

## JOHNSON

- Oct. 13 -- Florida and Alabama campaigning.
- Oct. 14 -- Macon, Ga.; Mississippi campaigning; New Orleans.
- Oct. 15-17 -- Washington, D.C. staff work.
- Oct. 18 -- Pennsylvania campaigning.
- Oct. 19 -- Allentown, Pa.; Huntington, West Va.; Ohio campaigning; Winston-Salem, N.C.

## NIXON

- Oct. 13 -- Los Angeles, debate with Kennedy.
- Oct. 14 -- Los Angeles area campaigning.
- Oct. 15 -- Phoenix; Tulsa; Springfield, Ill.
- Oct. 16 -- Hartford, staff work and meetings.
- Oct. 17 -- Hartford, New Haven, Bridgeport; Buffalo, N.Y.
- Oct. 18 -- Miami for American Legion speech; Florida campaigning.
- Oct. 19 -- Wilmington; New York City.

## LODGE

- Oct. 13 -- Norfolk; Winston-Salem, N.C.
- Oct. 14 -- Pittsburgh.
- Oct. 15 -- Pennsylvania campaigning.
- Oct. 16 -- Hartford for meeting with Nixon; Washington D.C., staff work.
- Oct. 17 -- Washington, D.C., staff work; Maryland campaigning.
- Oct. 18-19 -- Upstate New York. Oct. 19 -- Benton Harbor, Mich.



## Presidential Report

### TEXT OF PRESIDENT'S SPEECH ON AIDING NEW NATIONS

Following is the text of President Eisenhower's Oct. 17 address to the National Automobile Show dinner in Detroit.

Tonight, though we are in the midst of a political campaign in which most of us are not completely disinterested, I want to speak to you in a nonpartisan spirit.

I am happy to meet with you, who are among our leaders in America's productive enterprises. The nation admires the material accomplishments for which you, here, have been so greatly responsible in your chosen field.

Administrators, scientists, artists, labor, and representatives from a dozen professions have had a part in the marvelous growth of our motor industry. I salute them all.

Yet this evening, I do not address myself solely to this particular part or even all of the American economy. Instead I shall present to you some reflections about our nation, our people, and the world -- touching upon truths and trends which, it seems to me, have insistent meaning for us now and for the future.

#### U.S. WEALTH

Around the world, one of the most widely known features of the United States today is its unprecedented wealth. But much less understood abroad is the great spread, throughout the peoples of our nation, of the benefits of the American system. Other peoples find it hard to believe that an American working man can own his own comfortable home and a car and send his children to well-equipped elementary and high schools and to colleges as well. They fail to realize that he is not the downtrodden, impoverished vassal of whom Karl Marx wrote. He is a self-sustaining, thriving individual, living in dignity and freedom. Annual family income averages \$6,500. The Gross National Product has passed \$500,000,000,000, and national income has soared to over \$400,000,000,000 a year.

In spite of certain localities of economic weakness this level of material well-being stands in startling contrast to that of most of the world's peoples. Yet we confidently expect that our standard of living will continue to rise at a rate of 3 or 4 percent each year, while for millions of others elsewhere productivity will scarcely keep pace with population growth.

In many other areas of the earth, once-isolated peoples are acquiring a knowledge of the world in which we live. The poverty-stricken masses of a score of nations cannot fail, with some bitterness, to compare their lot to ours, and to that of the other industrialized and currently prosperous nations. Hundreds of millions of human beings, denied any real opportunity, out of their own resources, to bring their living standards up to respectable levels will certainly, if abandoned by others, tend to develop a feeling of helplessness, hopelessness and despair. Out of these would emerge increasing world tensions and unrest. Vast areas of resentment and turmoil, especially if combined under a despotic and aggressive dictatorship, could destroy the material prosperity we now so freely enjoy and so confidently expect to increase. Freedom would be endangered.

Clearly the economic status of others affects both our own prosperity and world peace. The more intense and widely spread becomes poverty abroad, the more serious will become the consequent problems on our own doorstep.

#### MAKE WORLD BETTER

I believe that the vast majority of Americans is aware of these facts and, consciously or subconsciously, is determined to make the world a better place for all.

For us, a free world leader by reasons of size, productivity and strength, the question really becomes "How are we to use our wealth and the strength and influence deriving from it?" Should we merely strive jealously to guard, in a materialistic philosophy and static isolation, the possessions we already have? Or,

recognizing the dangers of inaction, are we boldly to strike out for the preservation of our cherished values of freedom, by striving to see that others may, with us, possess and enjoy them?

Since freedom is strengthened by its sharing and can be destroyed by withholding from others the opportunities also to possess it, from us there can be only one response.

How then may we best help in building the world we seek?

In our search for the means by which we can render help we must learn more about the economies of others. I suggest, for example, that preliminary surveys should, in each instance, try to pinpoint the areas in which a particular nation may be lacking. We know that indiscriminate transfers of materials and money will not suffice. But if each nation, with competent technical help, can discover its own special weaknesses and plan their correction, then outside help can be both effective and economically used. One of the functions of the special fund of the United Nations is to help develop these facts.

#### NATURE OF PROBLEM

But complicating the problem of steady reduction of poverty in the free world is the greatest obstacle that our way of life has known. The principal and immediate challenger to these values is a government which hates all that we hold most dear. The challenge we face is many sided, and in each of its aspects it is intensified by the never ending threat of the use of force.

The problem is, partly, philosophic -- spiritual and moral. We begin all our reasoning about man's destiny and the purpose of social organization with the conviction that man, in his worship to God, is precious as an individual and has absolutely inviolable rights. The Communists scornfully deny this belief. Marx, Engels, Stalin, and Khrushchev have all, in turn, proclaimed that the religious view of man with dignity is false. They have taught that material factors alone are responsible for man's life and aspirations; that any means, no matter how repugnant, to achieve Communist ends is acceptable.

The Communist philosophy denies to man the right of self-government, and herein lies another phase of the critical world contest in which we are engaged. Because of our convictions about the nature of man and his natural rights, we adhere to democratic methods. The basic political power resides with our people, and the decisions of government are their decisions. Since, in the Communist view, man possess no natural rights, in theory all power is vested in the state -- in practice, in the hands of a few elite members of the ruling party. The people are regimented. They know only what their rulers want them to know; they do only what their rulers tell them to do. Whether they live at peace or are forced into war is decided by an omnipotent few.

#### PROPAGANDA

But these two aspects of the struggle are deliberately obscured by vicious Communist propaganda. Communists know that men and women whose minds have been conditioned by hunger, are tempted to follow any system that promises -- no matter how falsely -- a better life. Starving people can be brought to look with envious eyes at the Communist system which, hiding the price its people must pay in loss of individual freedom, has made in a few short years violent but effective strides forward in the production of foods, goods and armaments.

Where individual income may be as little as \$50 or \$100 a year, where population increases more rapidly than production, where the major rewards of enterprise are reaped by a relatively few, the doctrine of communized production is seductive. It promises at last a dramatic change from the physical misery of the past and present.

Viewed uncritically by those who allow the great fundamental philosophical and political differences to be obscured, the



comparison between the free and the Communistic systems assumes a false simplicity.

When impoverished people and nations look, with envy, at the economic achievements of the Soviet Union, they make one serious mistake: In their impatience with the slowness of their own progress, they tend to confuse their particular system of private enterprise with that of the United States. They are not fully aware of the basic factors of America's growth. Many things and forces have molded our national experience, and each has often been cited as the touchstone of our success. Yet none of them belongs exclusively to us. America has no monopoly on the prime movers of progress.

An abundance of natural resources, a system of private, competitive enterprise, a physical size and political system that insure a great free trade area, a way of life based on the bedrock of deep religious commitment, a massive dynamic educational system, and the great thrust of a hybrid energy derived from many cultures -- all these we have.

Beyond these, one is of especial importance. It is our national social conscience. Lack of knowledge, abroad, concerning it, is largely responsible for the erroneous concept that many have of the American system of production and distribution.

### PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

Relatively few nations have the socially conscious type of private enterprise which we enjoy. Here private enterprise, with minimal intervention by Government, strives to benefit all the people. This was not always so, but the whole philosophy and spirit of our historic enterprise have led us through evolutionary changes which have given us our present socially responsive and responsible economic system.

While we depend primarily upon the initiative of the individual, for economic and social progress, yet what the people cannot do for themselves, they expect their Government to undertake in the degree demonstrated as necessary. The share of public enterprise has necessarily increased with the growing complexity of our lives. The costs of national defense, promotion of the general welfare, and other aspects of public effort by federal, state and local governments mount with the years; Government expenditures now approximate \$130,000,000,000 a year. This means that nearly one-third of our total national income is taken in taxes and spent for public purposes.

Parenthetically, I should like here to remark that one of our greatest internal problems is to see to it that we maintain the health and strength of our private competitive system, including always the stability of its currency.

All the public services, with defense in the first line priority, must be financed by our free economy. If Government costs become greater than we can meet now, in the most prosperous period in our history, then either we must disastrously go deeper in debt -- or take so much in taxes that the economy will lose the ability to maintain the dynamism that it must have for continued growth.

Only a steadily growing economy, and one devoid of harmful inflation and mushrooming debt, can support our ever-increasing number of public services.

To return to my theme: In many countries of the free world private enterprise is greatly different from what we know here. In some, a few families are fabulously wealthy, contribute far less than they should in taxes, and are indifferent to the poverty of great masses of the people. Broad purchasing power does not, therefore, exist, even for the domestic products of the nation. A country in this situation is fraught with continual instability. It is ripe for revolution. The mass of the people want a change for the better, and hence two questions arise: First, will reform come in a peaceful, orderly way, or violently and with ensuing chaos? Second, will essential reform be within a system of private enterprise, or will production be socialized?

### COMMUNIST THEME

The Communist propagandists, playing their Pied Piper's tune, tempt the disadvantaged to believe that Communism is the only way. Thus, they boast that the Soviet Union will soon outstrip even the United States in production.

We must continue to try to get the underprivileged to look behind this claim.

It is not surprising that productivity is increasing at a faster rate in Russia than it is in the United States. Indeed, it would be surprising if this were not so, for the Bolsheviks started, some forty years ago at a very low level, and channel all production according to political need. By imitation and seizure, the Kremlin has been able to use many advanced practices developed over the years by free world scientists and technologists. But even so, with three times as many people engaged in agriculture, Russia is producing less food and fiber than is the United States. Further, Russian industrial production is less than half as great as ours. Only in defense production does Russia approach us -- but let me emphasize: Even in this, she does not exceed us.

Yet even if we accepted the claim that a Communized system (could surpass) our productivity -- which, of course, we do not -- we would reject it. For a complete communization of the means of production will succeed only under a dictatorship. We would prefer poverty in freedom to riches in slavery.

How fortunate it is that this is not the choice.

If the free nations will recognize the need for, and practice effective cooperation among themselves, they can make certain of their common security in freedom and advance their common prosperity.

### U.S. ROLE

Not so many years ago we felt we could keep safely to ourselves. But now our economy has become interdependent with that of many other nations. Modern transportation and communication have narrowed continents and oceans, and modern capabilities for destruction have wiped out the last shreds of safety in isolation.

Understanding these truths, the United States since World War II has devoted much of its time and energy, and has given with unprecedented generosity of its resources, in helping to protect freedom and to promote rising levels of well-being in all nations wishing to be independent and free.

There can be no retreat from this course.

But changing situation call for new thinking and action, more study of priorities.

First, it becomes urgent that every nation of the free world do all it can to advance itself and bear its own appropriate responsibility to all the other nations of that family. This means that there must be a new, true spirit of common dedication to freedom pervading the relationships of all free nations.

It has no doubt been necessary in the post-war years that the United States be the leader in providing assistance to the free world. But all these nations must realize that our resources are not unlimited; yet more must be done.

If the free world community is to persevere and prosper, every one of the nations must contribute to the total cooperative enterprise to the utmost of its ability. No nation is so rich or strong that it dares to stand aloof. No nation is so poor that it cannot make a vital contribution. All must share in forming the principles and carrying out the total program for the maintenance of peace with justice and ever-rising levels of human well-being. While all will properly work in their own self-interest, they must also act on a commitment for the common good.

### SPREAD BENEFITS

Another new action is called for: As each of the nations of the free community examines its own actions and unflinchingly takes the greatest possible responsibility for its own economic advance, it must make certain that the blessings of production benefit all its people, not only a favored few. The internal revisions found necessary should be undertaken by each nation promptly and peacefully. Delay incites violence, and not only retards the achievement of domestic goals, but also causes damage to all free nations, as we have lately witnessed.

I do not say these things complacently. I know, as you do, that we in the United States have many improvements to make, and we know the dangers inherent in being self-righteous and content. We cooperate to produce the moral, intellectual and material strength needed in the free world.

Since time began, opulence has too often paved for a nation the way to depravity and ultimate destruction. Rich, sluggish societies have put comfort, ease and luxury ahead of spiritual vigor, intellectual development and the energetic pursuit of noble

goals. The ancient civilizations of Egypt, Greece, Rome and more recently the splendid court of Louis XV fell thus, each having developed a false sense of values and its peoples having lost their sense of national destiny.

### U.S. IDEALS

This could be a threat to the United States but for the fact that we are not motivated by materialism. We hold dear the things of the spirit and the intellect, and our ideals of freedom, democracy, human dignity and social justice shine through all our institutions. These are the supreme purposes of our people and the motivating force of our Government.

Our own weaknesses must be understood and corrected. This we try to do, not by Government alone, but by localities and by an informed and aroused citizenry. We have problems of crime, juvenile delinquency, physical and mental health, deficiencies in education, slum housing, and racial and religious discrimination -- all of which call for massive attacks.

The stop-watch of history is running. The race is on to see whether the material and spiritual needs of the world will be better met through dictatorial control, Communized enterprise, immorality and inhumanity, or through freedom, private enterprise, and cooperative action, inspired by the concept of religious morality and respect for human dignity. This emphasizes the necessity in every free nation to have leaders of integrity, understanding compassion, and patience.

In our nation we want men who will keep us alert to the priorities toward which all efforts should be directed. They must sustain policies needed to keep our economy strong, while at the same time fulfilling the nation's domestic and foreign responsibilities -- especially defense. Such leaders are needed in governmental, industrial, political, education, cultural and moral areas.

Of special concern to this audience is leadership in industry, including particularly, labor-management relationships and responsibility.

We properly cherish the American system of labor-management relations and collective bargaining. It has many unique characteristics, not the least of which is its virtual independence of governmental interference. This is a great strength, for it constantly encourages labor and management to grow in self-reliance and responsibility. These are important factors in our national greatness.

But just as some other elements of our national life are today being sorely tested, so is our labor-management system on trial. Questions have arisen as to whether it can continue effectively to meet the complex problems of modern industrial society; whether it can provide the necessary acceleration in vital production areas; whether it can control the wage-price relation in ways that will permit world competition and are fair to labor, management, consumers, and the nation; whether it can use with maximum efficiency the increasingly complex technology our scientists and engineers are designing; or whether because of self-interest labor and management, unmindful of the general good, and the essentiality of constantly growing strength, will fail to do what must be done.

We have gone through several phases in the development of labor-management relations.

### LABOR-MANAGEMENT

The phase of labor-management relations we are in now calls for a supreme effort on the part of both to conduct their affairs with ever-increasing responsibility for the national welfare.

We can, we must banish poverty.

But we cannot, if labor and management behave as adolescents instead of adults -- not if they ignore the national welfare by deadlocking for periods with painful effects upon the economy before composing their differences.

No longer can this nation permit either group to drag its feet in adopting preventive measures for the prompt settlement of industrial disputes.

Two Irishmen were riding up a hill on a tandem bicycle. When they barely made the top, the front rider jumped off, mopped his brow, and gasped about the ordeal of the climb: "Begorra," he said, "it was so steep I thought we'd never make it." Whereupon the rear rider added: "And faith if I hadn't kept my foot on the brake; I think we'd have rolled backwards."

The obvious point is that the task of climbing above the lower slopes of human achievement in our highly industrialized society calls for a communion of purpose and effort, not mutual antagonism.

For the American people, I say to you and to the leaders of labor that there must be an ever-increasing understanding of the total national interest, of its vital needs at each moment in history, and of the historic mission in which it is engaged. Differences of opinion are natural and good, but there is no room for mutual distrust, or bitterness. Labor and business leaders must sit down in a calm atmosphere and regularly discuss -- far removed from the bargaining table -- their philosophy, their needs, and above all, their common responsibility to this free nation.

Your future and the future of our country are dependent on the success you and the leaders of labor have in the matter. Labor-management statesmanship is today as imperative as labor-management bargaining.

Finally, in a larger sense, our nation's leaders in all fields must deeply believe in the brotherhood of man -- the nobility of a democratic people exercising the political power. They must have the vision and stature neither to give up our national commitment to the rightness of freedom nor -- even under great duress -- to forget that the freedom of the individual is an essential source of our vitality.

I am grateful that in these past eight years our nation has been spared war, is steadily growing in its total strength, and under the most trying circumstances, has been working for world order. Moreover, as I peer down the lane of years ahead, I express my unshakable faith that new leaders will, through their character, experience, judgment and ability, lead our nation steadily to greater heights and closer to a cooperative and just peace in freedom.

### BRIDGE DEDICATION

Following is a partial text of President Eisenhower's Oct. 18 talk at the Hiawatha Bridge dedication ceremonies in Red Wing, Minn:

...The American Indian chief Hiawatha is said to have lived some 400 years ago. But his deeds in the sixteenth century, in what was then Stone Age America, are strikingly reminiscent of the work we are undertaking today. Except that his work was carried on four centuries back, it would today, in a different and wide scope, be noted by our daily newspapers and excite discussion throughout the world.

Hiawatha was a founder of the first United Nations organization in America.

His U.N. or League of Nations had five members. They were Iroquois tribes. He undertook the organization of a permanent league for the purpose of stopping for all time the shedding of human blood by violence. The constitution Hiawatha championed had as its founding principles, justice, righteousness and power, or authority, and was intended to "safeguard human life, health and welfare."

Wisely, it did not limit membership on their U.N. to the five Iroquois tribes. The founding nations proposed for themselves and their successors the great task of gradually bringing into their organization to preserve peace "all the known tribes of men, not as subject peoples, but as confederates."

Hiawatha's league failed, though for several generations it was remarkably successful in the achievement of its objectives. But failure does not dim the validity of his idea. Indeed it demonstrates the timelessness of mankind's desire for peace.

### LEAGUE OF NATIONS

We find a historical repetition in the sad fate of the League of Nations, founded in this century at the close of World War I. In retrospect we realize that there had been for the League of Nations insufficient intellectual preparation for such a world system. Its purposes were admirable but no firm ideology existed to sustain it.

We must not through lack of faith or complacency so endanger the United Nations of our own time.

Humankind has painfully discovered that peace with justice cannot be had by proclaiming a charter of confederation, no matter how skillfully devised, any more than freedom can be sustained

by mere ritualistic worship of the concept of liberty. It must be undergirded by understanding, dedication, sacrifice and effective machinery.

The problem has always been -- in Hiawatha's time as in ours -- to channel governments into peaceful ways -- to build institutions that make peace easier and war more difficult and eventually impossible.

Such institutions we are now patiently building under the United Nations. One such institution is an international police force.

All of us must struggle ceaselessly for the success of the United Nations. We must support its ideals and its operations. From this commonwealth of nations there must be eliminated the causes of war. A concomitant task is to banish poverty and disease.

#### UNITED NATIONS

Day by day it becomes more clear that our faith in the United Nations is justified -- that the system under which it operates is valuable in seeking solutions, for turning heat into light, and for keeping the true desires of nations exposed to world opinion.

On Monday of next week -- United Nations Day -- we celebrate the fifteenth birthday of this organization. This is a time for reaffirming in unmistakable tones our determination that this time our effort to find peace through cooperation shall not fail.

In the eight years I have been in office several truly remarkable achievements have been gained through this organization.

For example:

America's atoms-for-peace proposal, under U.N. auspice, has become a reality and is gradually making its influence felt throughout the world.

The Suez crisis in 1956 was resolved through the United Nations.

The 1958 crisis in Lebanon was dealt with successfully when through U.N. action, we sent troops to the Middle East and then promptly withdrew them when the situation warranted it.

Since early 1957 the United Nations Emergency Force has effectively stopped the dangerous raids and reprisals in the Gaza Strip which continually threatened the peace of the Middle East.

#### 'DON'T STUMBLE'

These are a few sporadic instances. The great and sustained contribution of the United Nations is the opportunity it affords for composing, through discussion, mutually antagonistic viewpoints.

Today, my friends, truth and freedom and peace are forced to fight for survival. We must strengthen the U.N. as the great forum for ventilating difference -- for the opportunity to present the truth -- and for seeking workable compromises among our respective societies.

Though we can write a recipe for international cooperation and justice, it cannot become a reality except as we live it.

We dare not stumble. We must prepare our citizenry and our children intellectually for the task of sustaining the United Nations. Noble ideas must be supported by education and hard work.

Unless we accept the possibility of being thrown back to the age of flint and steel, we will use wisely every instrument and means at hand to find peace with justice.

Only through the collective force of a strong and informed public opinion, united in its belief in the free spirit, shall we succeed. To your hands I commend this task, grateful that this structure, bridging a river between two commonwealths of our nation, and its name may ever symbolize the purpose of forging indestructible bonds between free peoples.

## Capitol Briefs

### RAILROAD STUDY COMMISSION

Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell Oct. 18 announced that representatives of the railroads and the five operating rail unions had agreed to submit a dispute over work rules to a 15-member commission to be appointed by President Eisenhower. Mitchell said the commission would have five members each from the railroads, unions and public, would begin a study in January 1961 and submit recommendations by Dec. 1, with a three-month extension if both parties agreed to it. He said the recommendations would not be binding but would carry "great weight."

The work rules dispute involves proposals made by the railroads in 1959 to end what they said was employment of many unneeded workers - a practice called "featherbedding." The unions have held that the railroads were trying to cut payrolls drastically and that extra employees often were needed for safety.

### WHITESIDE - GOLDFINE CASES

A Federal court jury in Washington Oct. 13 acquitted Thurman A. Whiteside, Miami lawyer, of charges he had conspired with former Federal Communications Commissioner Richard A. Mack in 1957 to swing a four-way contest for Miami TV Channel 10 to Public Service Television, Inc., a National Airlines subsidiary. He also

was acquitted of a charge he had tried to influence Mack while the case was before the FCC. A joint trial of the two men in 1959 resulted in a deadlocked jury, and Mack was unable to stand trial now because of illness. (1959 Almanac p. 743)

In Boston, Mass., Federal Judge George C. Sweeney Oct. 12 ruled industrialist Bernard Goldfine mentally incompetent to stand trial at present on charges of income tax evasion and ordered him committed for hospital treatment. Goldfine, who figured prominently in 1958 Congressional hearings on regulatory agencies, Oct. 3 ended a 90-day sentence for contempt of court. (Weekly Report p. 1198)

### DRIVER ROSTER

Federal Highway Administrator Bertram D. Tallamy Oct. 13 named Wendell G. Eames, former Justice Department employee, to establish a "National Roster of Revoked Operators' Licenses" in the Commerce Department. The roster was authorized by Congress in July (HR 5436). (Weekly Report p. 1190)

### RECESS APPOINTMENTS

The President made the following recess appointments:

Daniel J. McCauley of Pennsylvania, a Republican, as a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission; Oct. 13.

Edward K. Mills Jr. of New Jersey, a Republican, as a member of the Federal Trade Commission; Oct. 14.



## 4 SENATE SEATS, 78 HOUSE SEATS ALREADY DECIDED

Four Democratic Senators, 74 Democratic Representatives and two Republican Representatives are certain of re-election in November because they have no opponents. Two non-incumbent Democratic candidates for the House also are unopposed, assuring the Democrats of at least 76 House seats and 47 Senate seats in the 87th Congress.

As in previous years, the majority of unopposed candidates are from Southern constituencies, 67 from Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. This is only one less than the number that were unopposed in these states in 1956, the previous Presidential election year. Even in districts certain to be held by one party, there is a tendency for the other party to put up Congressional candidates in Presidential election years to help the whole ticket in some little way.

Although the Democrats face only one more Southern contest than they did in 1956, the scene of battle has shifted considerably within the South. Three districts in Louisiana, two in Mississippi, four in North Carolina and two in Texas will have Republican candidates for House seats that were uncontested four years ago. By contrast, the Democrats have picked up one uncontested seat each in Arkansas, Florida and Missouri, two in Kentucky, two in Tennessee and three in Virginia. Northern Democratic gains came in Massachusetts where five incumbent Democratic Representatives face no re-election battle, four more than in 1956.

In five districts where Republicans ran for the House without opposition in 1956, there will be election battles in 1960. Only Reps. Richard H. Poff (R) of Virginia's 6th District and Alvin E. O'Konski (R) of Wisconsin's 10th District are certain of re-election. Both faced Democratic opposition four years ago.

In 1958, a non-Presidential year, Republicans made even fewer inroads into Southern Democratic strongholds than they did in 1960 or 1956. Two years ago, 93 Democratic House candidates ran unopposed, all but eight of them in Southern districts. Perhaps the most notable change is in North Carolina where four seats were uncontested in both 1958 and 1956. This year, Republicans have candidates in all of the state's 12 House races, including the one incumbent Republican Member, Rep. Charles Raper Jonas. Three Texas seats and four Louisiana seats, conceded to the Democrats in 1958, have Republican challengers this year.

Of the 15 Democrats and 17 Republicans who are either retiring from their House seats or were defeated in primaries, only two seats are uncontested. Both are in Georgia and both will be held by Democrats.

### Representatives Already Elected

Following is a list by states of the 78 Representatives, who are all but elected. Hagan and Stephens of Georgia are the two non-incumbent Democratic Representatives-elect. Numbers preceding the name refer to the Con-

gressional district. All but Reps. O'Konski and Poff are Democrats.

**ALABAMA** -- 1, Frank W. Boykin; 2, George M. Grant; 3, George W. Andrews; 4, Kenneth A. Roberts; 5, Albert Rains; 6, Armistead I. Selden, Jr.; 7, Carl Elliott.

**ARKANSAS** -- 1, E.C. Gathings; 2, Wilbur D. Mills; 3, James W. Trimble; 4, Oren Harris; 5, Dale Alford; 6, W.F. Norrell.

**CALIFORNIA** -- 3, John E. Moss; 12, B.F. Sisk.

**FLORIDA** -- 3, Robert L.F. Sikes; 5, A. Sydney Herlong, Jr.; 8, D.R. (Billy) Matthews.

**GEORGIA** -- 1, G. Elliott Hagan; 2, John L. Pilcher; 3, E.L. Forester; 4, John James Flynt, Jr.; 5, James C. Davis; 6, Carl Vinson; 8, Iris F. Blitch; 9, Phil M. Landrum; 10, Robert G. Stephens, Jr.

**KENTUCKY** -- 1, Frank A. Stubblefield; 2, William H. Natcher; 4, Frank Chelf.

**LOUISIANA** -- 5, Otto E. Passman; 7, T. Ashton Thompson; 8, Harold B. McSween.

**MASSACHUSETTS** -- 2, Edward P. Boland; 3, Philip J. Philbin; 7, Thomas J. Lane; 11, Thomas P. O'Neill Jr.; 12, John W. McCormack.

**MISSISSIPPI** -- 2, Jamie L. Whitten; 4, John Bell Williams; 5, Arthur Winstead; 6, William M. Colmer.

**MISSOURI** -- 10, Paul C. Jones.

**SOUTH CAROLINA** -- 1, L. Mendel Rivers; 2, John J. Riley; 3, W.J. Bryan Dorn; 4, Robert T. Ashmore; 5, Robert W. Hemphill; 6, John L. McMillan.

**TENNESSEE** -- 3, James B. Frazier Jr.; 4, Joe L. Evins; 5, J. Carlton Loser; 6, Ross Bass; 7, Tom Murray; 8, Robert A. Everett; 9, Clifford Davis.

**TEXAS** -- 1, Wright Patman; 3, Lindley Beckworth; 4, Sam Rayburn; 6, Olin E. Teague; 7, John Dowdy; 9, Clark W. Thompson; 10, Homer Thornberry; 11, W.R. Poage; 12, James C. Wright Jr.; 13, Frank Icard; 14, John Young; 15, Joe M. Kilgore; 18, Walter Rogers; 19, George Mahon; 20, Paul J. Kilday; 21, O.C. Fisher.

**VIRGINIA** -- 3, J. Vaughan Gary; 4, Watkins M. Abbott; 5, William M. Tuck; 6, Richard H. Poff (R); 7, Burr P. Harrison.

**WISCONSIN** -- 10, Alvin E. O'Konski (R).

### Senators Already Elected

The following Democratic incumbents are sure of re-election to the Senate:

**ARKANSAS** -- John L. McClellan.

**GEORGIA** -- Richard B. Russell.

**SOUTH CAROLINA** -- Strom Thurmond.

**VIRGINIA** -- A. Willis Robertson.



## COMPLETE TEXT OF OCT. 13 KENNEDY-NIXON RADIO-TV DEBATE

Following is the complete text of the Oct. 13 radio and television debate between Vice President Richard M. Nixon, speaking from Los Angeles, and Sen. John F. Kennedy, speaking from New York City. This was the third debate between the Presidential candidates. The candidates were questioned by Roscoe Drummond, columnist for the New York Herald Tribune; Douglass Cater, Washington correspondent for the Reporter Magazine; Charles Von Fremd of CBS News and Frank McGee of NBC. Bill Shadel of ABC News moderated.

SHADEL: Good evening. I am Bill Shadel of ABC News. It is my privilege this evening to preside at this, the third in the series of meetings on radio and television of the two major Presidential candidates.

Now, like the last meeting the subjects to be discussed will be suggested by questions from a panel of correspondents. Unlike the first two programs, however, the two candidates will not be sharing the same platform. In New York the Democratic Presidential Nominee, Senator John F. Kennedy. Separated by 3,000 miles in a Los Angeles studio, the Republican Presidential Nominee, Vice President Richard M. Nixon.

Now joined for tonight's discussion by a network of electronic facilities which permits each candidate to see and hear the other. Good evening, Senator Kennedy.

KENNEDY: Good evening, Mr. Shadel.

SHADEL: And good evening to you, Vice President Nixon.

NIXON: Good evening, Mr. Shadel.

SHADEL: And now to meet the panel of correspondents. Frank McGee, NBC News; Charles von Fremd, CBS News; Douglass Cater, Reporter Magazine; Roscoe Drummond, New York Herald Tribune.

Now, as you probably noted, the four reporters include a newspaper man and a magazine reporter, these two selected by lot by the press secretaries of the candidates from among the reporters traveling with the candidates. The broadcasting representatives were chosen by their companies. The rules for this evening have been agreed upon by the representatives of both candidates and the radio and television networks and I should like to read them.

There will be no opening statements by the candidates nor any closing summation. The entire hour will be devoted to answering questions from the reporters. Each candidate to be questioned in turn, with opportunity for comment by the other. Each answer will be limited to two and one-half minutes, each comment to one and a half minutes.

The reporters are free to ask any question they choose on any subject. Neither candidate knows what questions will be asked. Time alone will determine who will be asked the final question. Now, the first question is from Mr. McGee and is for Senator Kennedy.

### BERLIN

McGEE: Senator Kennedy, yesterday you used the words "trigger-happy" in referring to Vice President Richard Nixon's stand on defending the Islands of Quemoy and Matsu. Last week on a program like this one you said the next President would come face to face with a serious crisis in Berlin, so the question is: Would you take military action to defend Berlin.

KENNEDY: Mr. McGee, we have a contractual right to be in Berlin, coming out of the conversations at Potsdam and of World War II, that has been reinforced by direct commitments of the President of the United States. It has been reinforced by a number of other nations under NATO.

I have stated on many occasions that the United States must meet its commitment on Berlin. It is a commitment that we have to meet if we are going to protect the security of Western Europe, and therefore on this question I don't think that there is any doubt in the mind of any American, I hope there is not any doubt in the mind of any member of the community of West Berlin, I am sure there isn't any doubt in the mind of the Russians. We will meet our commitments to maintain the freedom and independence of West Berlin.

SHADEL: Mr. Vice President, do you wish to comment?

NIXON: Yes. As a matter of fact the statement that Senator Kennedy made was that -- to the effect that there were trigger-happy Republicans, that my stand on Quemoy and Matsu was an indication of trigger-happy Republicans.

I resent that comment. I resent it because it is an implication that Republicans have been trigger-happy and therefore would lead this nation into war. I would remind Senator Kennedy of the past fifty years. I would ask him to name one Republican President who led this nation into war. There were three Democratic Presidents who led us into war. I do not mean by that that one party is a war party and the other party is a peace party, but I do say that any statement to the effect that the Republican Party is trigger-happy is belied by the record. We had a war when we came into power in 1953. We got rid of that. We kept out of other wars, and certainly that doesn't indicate that we are trigger-happy. We have been strong, but we haven't been trigger-happy.

As far as Berlin is concerned, there isn't any question about the necessity of defending Berlin, the rights of people there to be free, and there isn't any question about what the United American people, Republicans and Democrats alike, would do in the event there were an attempt by the communists to take over in Berlin.

SHADEL: The next question is by Mr. von Fremd for Vice President Nixon.

### FORMOSA STRAITS

VON FREMD: Mr. Vice President, a two-part question concerning the offshore islands in the Formosa Straits. If you were President and the Chinese Communists tomorrow began an invasion of Quemoy and Matsu, would you launch the United States into a war by sending the Seventh Fleet and other military forces to resist this aggression, and, secondly, if the regular conventional forces failed to halt such an invasion, would you authorize the use of nuclear weapons?

NIXON: Mr. von Fremd, it would be completely irresponsible for a candidate for the Presidency or for a President himself to indicate the course of action and the weapons he would use in the event of such an attack.

I will say this. In the event that such an attack occurred, and in the event the attack was a prelude to an attack on Formosa, which would be the indication today, because the Chinese Communists say over and over again that their objective is not the offshore islands, that they consider them only stepping stones to taking Formosa, in the event that their attack then were a prelude to an attack on Formosa, there isn't any question but that the United States would then again, as in the case of Berlin, honor our treaty obligations and stand by our ally of Formosa. But to indicate in advance how we would respond, to indicate the nature of the response, would be incorrect. It would certainly be inappropriate, it would not be in the best interests of the United States.

I will only say this, however, in addition. To do what Senator Kennedy has suggested, to suggest that we will surrender these islands or force our Chinese Nationalist Allies to surrender them in advance is not something that would lead to peace. It is something that would lead, in my opinion, to war. This is the history of dealing with dictators. This is something that Senator Kennedy and all Americans must know. We tried this with Hitler. It didn't work. He wanted first, as we know, Austria and then he went on in the Sudetenland and then Danzig and each time it was thought this is all that he wanted. Now what do the Chinese Communists want? They don't want just Quemoy and Matsu. They don't want just Formosa. They want the world. And the question is if you surrender or indicate in advance that you are not going to defend any part of the free world, and you figure that is going to satisfy them, it doesn't satisfy them. It only whets their appetite. And then the question comes -- when do you stop them? I have often heard President Eisenhower; in discussing this question, make the statement that if we once start the process of indicating that this point or that point is not the place to stop those who threaten the peace and freedom of the world, where do we stop them? And I say that those of us who

stand against surrender of territory, this or any others, in the face of blackmail and in the face of force by the Communists are standing for the course that will lead to peace.

SHADEL: Senator Kennedy, do you wish to comment?

KENNEDY: Yes. The whole -- the United States now has a treaty which I voted for in the United States Senate in 1955 to defend Formosa and the Pescadores Islands. The Islands which Mr. Nixon is discussing are five or four miles respectively off the coast of China. Now when Senator Green, the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, wrote to the President, he received back on the 2nd of October, 1958, "Neither you nor any other American need feel the U.S. will be involved in military hostilities merely in the defense of Quemoy or Matsu."

Now, that is the issue. I believe we must meet our commitment to Formosa. I support it, and the Pescadores Islands. That is the present American position. The treaty does not include these two islands.

Mr. Nixon suggests that the United States should go to war if these two islands are attacked. I suggest that if Formosa is attacked, or the Pescadores, or if there is any military action in any area which indicates an attack on Formosa and the Pescadores, then, of course, the United States is at war to defend its treaty.

Now, I must say what Mr. Nixon wants to do is commit us, as I understand him, so that we can be clear if there is a disagreement, he wants us to be committed to the defense of these islands, merely as the defense of these islands as free territory, not as part of the defense of Formosa.

Admiral Yarnell, the Commander of the Asiatic Fleet, has said that these islands are not worth the bones of a single American. The President of the United States has indicated they are not within the treaty area. They were not within the treaty area when the treaty was passed in '55. We have attempted to persuade Chiang Kai-shek as late as January of 1959 to reduce the number of troops he has on there. This is a serious issue and I think we ought to understand completely if we disagree, and if so, where.

SHADEL: Mr. Cater has the next question for Senator Kennedy.

#### SUMMIT CONFERENCE

CATER: Senator Kennedy, last week you said that before we should hold another summit conference, that it was important that the United States build its strength. Modern weapons take quite a long time to build. What sort of prolonged period do you envisage before there can be a summit conference, and do you think that there can be any new initiatives on the grounds of nuclear disarmament and nuclear control or weapons control during this period?

KENNEDY: Well, I think we should strengthen our conventional forces and we should attempt in January, February and March of next year to increase the airlift capacity of our conventional forces. Then I believe that we should move full time on our missile production, particularly on Minuteman and on Polaris. It may be a long period but we must get started immediately.

Now, on the question of disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, I must say that I feel that another effort should be made by a new administration in January of 1961 to renew negotiations with the Soviet Union and see whether it is possible to come to some conclusion which will lessen the chances of contamination of the atmosphere and also lessen the chances that other powers will begin to possess a nuclear capacity. There are indications because of new inventions that ten, fifteen or twenty nations will have a nuclear capacity, including Red China, by the end of the presidential office in 1964. This is extremely serious.

There have been many wars in the history of mankind, and to take a chance now and not make every effort that we could make to provide for some control over these weapons I think would be a great mistake.

One of my disagreements with the present administration has been that I don't feel a real effort has been made on this very sensitive subject not only of nuclear controls but also of general disarmament. Less than a hundred people have been working throughout the entire Federal Government on this subject, and I believe it has been reflected in our success and failures at Geneva. Now, we may not succeed. The Soviet Union may not agree to an inspection system. We may not be able to get satisfactory assurances. It may be necessary for us to begin testing again. But I hope the next administration, and if I have anything to do with

it the next administration will make one last great effort to provide for control of nuclear testing, control of nuclear weapons, if possible, control of outer space, free from weapons, and also to begin again the subject of general disarmament levels.

These must be done. If we cannot succeed, then we must strengthen ourselves, but I would make the effort because I think the fate not only of our own civilization but I think the fate of the world and the future of the human race is involved in preventing a nuclear war.

SHADEL: Mr. Vice President, your comment.

NIXON: Yes. I am going to make a major speech on this whole subject next week before the next debate, and I will have an opportunity then to answer any other questions that may arise with regard to my position on it.

There isn't any question but that we must move forward in every possible way to reduce the danger of war, to move toward controlled disarmament, to control tests. But also, let's have in mind this: When Senator Kennedy suggests that we have not been making an effort, he simply does not know what he is talking about. It isn't a question of the number of people who are working in an administration. It is a question of who they are. This has been one of the highest level operations in the whole State Department right under the President himself.

We have gone certainly the extra mile and then some in making offers to the Soviet Union on control of tests, on disarmament and in every other way. And I just want to make one thing very clear: Yes, we should make a great effort, but under no circumstances must the United States ever make an agreement based on trust. There must be an absolute guarantee.

Now, just a comment on Senator Kennedy's last answer: He forgets that in this same debate on the Formosa resolution which he said he voted for, which he did, that he voted against an amendment or was recorded against an amendment, and on this particular -- or for an amendment, I should say, which passed the Senate overwhelmingly 70 to 12. And that amendment put the Senate of the United States on record with a majority of the Senator's own party voting for it as well as a majority of the Republicans, but them on record against the very position that the Senator takes now of surrendering, of indicating in advance that the United States will not defend the offshore islands.

SHADEL: The next question is by Mr. Drummond for Vice President Nixon.

#### QUEMOY & MATSU

DRUMMOND: Mr. Nixon, I would like to ask one more aspect or raise another aspect of this same question. It is my understanding that President Eisenhower never advocated that Quemoy and Matsu should be defended under all circumstances as a matter of principle. I heard Secretary Dulles at a press conference in '58 say that he thought that it was a mistake for Chiang Kai-shek to deploy troops to these islands.

I would like to ask what has led you to take what appears to be a different position on this subject?

NIXON: Well, Mr. Drummond, first of all referring to Secretary Dulles' press conference, I think if you read it all, and I know that you have, you will find that Secretary Dulles also indicated in that press conference that when the troops were withdrawn from Quemoy, that the implication was certainly of everything that he said, that Quemoy could better be defended. There were too many infantrymen there, not enough heavy artillery. And certainly I don't think there was any implication in Secretary Dulles' statement that Quemoy and Matsu should not be defended in the event that they were attacked and that attack was a preliminary to an attack on Formosa.

Now, as far as President Eisenhower is concerned, I have often heard him discuss this question. As I related a moment ago, the President has always indicated that we must not make the mistake, in dealing with a dictator, of indicating that we are going to make a concession at the point of a gun. Whenever you do that, inevitably the dictator is encouraged to try it again. So, first, it will be Quemoy and Matsu. Next it may be Formosa. What do we do then?

My point is this: That once you do this, follow this course of action, of indicating that you are not going to defend a particular area, the inevitable result is that it encourages a man who is determined to conquer the world to press you to the point of no return, and that means war. We went through this tragic

experience leading to World War II. We learned our lesson again in Korea. We must not learn it again. That is why I think the Senate was right, including a majority of the Democrats, a majority of the Republicans, when they rejected Senator Kennedy's position in 1955. And, incidentally, Senator Johnson was among those who rejected that position, voted with the 70 against the 12. The Senate was right because they knew the lesson of history, and may I say, too, that I would trust that Senator Kennedy would change his position on his, change it, because as long as he, as a major Presidential candidate, continues to suggest that we are going to turn over these islands, he is only encouraging the aggressors, the Chinese Communists and the Soviet aggressors, to press the United States, to press us to the point where war would be inevitable.

The road to war is always paved with good intentions, and in this instance the good intentions of course are a desire for peace. But certainly we are not going to have peace by giving in and indicating in advance that we are not going to defend what has become a symbol of freedom.

SHADEL: Senator Kennedy.

KENNEDY: I don't think it is possible for Mr. Nixon to state the record in distortion of the facts with more precision than he just did.

In 1955 Mr. Dulles at a press conference said:

"The treaty that we have with the Republic of China excludes Quemoy and Matsu from the treaty area. That was done with much thought and deliberation. Therefore, that treaty does not commit the United States to defend anything except Formosa and the Pescadores and to deal with acts against that treaty area."

I completely sustain the treaty. I voted for it. I would take any action necessary to defend the treaty, Formosa and the Pescadores Islands.

What we are now talking about is the Vice President's determination to guarantee Quemoy and Matsu, which are four and five miles off the coast of Red China, which are not within the treaty area.

I do not suggest that Chiang Kai-shek -- and this administration has been attempting since 1955 to persuade Chiang Kai-shek to lessen his troop commitments. He sent a mission, the President in 1955, of Mr. Robinson and Admiral Radford. General Twining said they were still doing it in 1959. General Ridgway said, who was Chief of Staff, "to go to war for Quemoy or Matsu to me would seem an unwarranted and tragic course to take. To me that concept is completely repugnant."

So I stand with them. I stand with the Secretary of State, Mr. Herter, who said these islands were indefensible. I believe that we should meet our commitments, and if the Chinese Communists attack the Pescadores and Formosa, they know that it will mean a war. I would not hand over these islands under any point of gun, but I merely say that the treaty is quite precise, and I sustain the treaty. Mr. Nixon would add a guarantee to islands five miles off the coast of the Republic of China when he has never really protested the Communists seizing Cuba ninety miles off the United States.

SHADEL: Mr. Von Fremd has a question for Senator Kennedy.

TRUMAN

VON FREMD: Senator Kennedy, I'd like to shift the conversation, if I may, to a domestic political argument.

The Chairman of the Republican National Committee, Senator Thruston Morton, declared earlier this week that you owed Vice President Nixon and the Republican Party a public apology for some strong charges made by former President Harry Truman, who bluntly suggested where the Vice President and the Republican Party could go. Do you feel that you owe the Vice President an apology?

KENNEDY: Well, I must say that Mr. Truman has his methods of expressing things. He has been in politics for 50 years. He has been President of the United States. They are not my style, but I really do not think there is anything that I can say to President Truman that is going to cause him at the age of 76 to change his particular speaking manner. Perhaps Mrs. Truman can, but I do not think I can. I will just have to tell Mr. Morton that, if you'd pass that message on to him.

SHADEL: Any comment, Mr. Vice President?

NIXON: Yes, I think so. Of course, both Senator Kennedy and I have felt Mr. Truman's ire, and consequently, I think he can speak with some feeling on this subject. I just do want to say one thing, however: We all have tempers. I have one, I'm sure Senator Kennedy has one; but when a man is President of the United States, or a former President, he has an obligation not to lose his temper in public.

One thing I have noted as I have traveled around the country are the tremendous number of children who come out to see the Presidential candidates. I see mothers holding their babies up so that they can see a man who might be President of the United States. I know Senator Kennedy sees them, too. It makes you realize that whoever is President is going to be a man that all the children of America will either look up to or will look down to. And I can only say that I am very proud that President Eisenhower restored dignity and decency and, frankly, good language to the conduct of the Presidency of the United States.

And I only hope that should I win this election, that I could approach President Eisenhower in maintaining the dignity of the office, in seeing to it that whenever any mother or father talks to his child, he can look at the man in the White House, and whatever he may think of his policies, he will say, "Well, there is a man who maintains the kind of standards personally that I would want my child to follow."

SHADEL: Mr. Cater's question is for Vice President Nixon.

DEALING WITH COMMUNISTS

CATER: Mr. Vice President, I would like to return just once more, if I may, to this area of dealing with the Communists. Critics have claimed that on at least three occasions in recent years, on the sending of American troops to Indo-China in 1954, on the matter of continuing the U-2 flights in May, and then on this definition of our commitment to the offshore islands, that you have over-stated the administration position, that you have taken a more bellicose position than President Eisenhower. Just two days ago, you said that, you called on Senator Kennedy to serve notice to Communist aggressors around the world that we are not going to retreat one inch more anywhere, whereas we did retreat from the Tauchen Islands, or at least Chiang Kai-shek did. Would you say this was a valid criticism of your statement of foreign policy?

NIXON: Well, Mr. Cater, of course it is a criticism that is being made. I obviously don't think it is valid. I have supported the Administration's position, and I think that that position has been correct. I think my position has been correct. As far as Indo-China was concerned, I stated over and over again that it was essential during that period that the United States make it clear that we would not tolerate Indo-China falling under Communist domination.

Now, as a result of our taking the strong stand that we did, the civil war there was ended, and today at least in the south of Indo-China the Communists have moved out and we do have a strong free bastion there.

Now, looking to the U-2 flights, I would like to point out that I have been supporting the President's position throughout. I think the President was correct in ordering these flights. I think the President was correct certainly in his decision to continue the flights while the conference was going on.

I noted, for example in reading a particular discussion that Senator Kennedy had with Dave Garroway shortly after his statement about regrets, that, he made the statement that he felt that these particular flights were ones that shouldn't have occurred right at that time, and the indication was how would Mr. Khrushchev have felt if we had had a flight over the -- how would he have felt if Mr. Khrushchev had had a flight over the United States while he was visiting here, and the answer, of course, is that Communist espionage goes on all the time. The answer is that the United States can't afford to have an espionage lack, or lag, should I say an intelligence lag more than we can afford to have a missile lag.

Now, referring to your question with regard to Quemoy and Matsu, what I object to here is the constant reference to surrendering these islands. Senator Kennedy quotes the record, which he read from a moment ago. But what he forgets to point out is that the key vote, a vote which I referred to several times, where he was in the minority, was one which rejected his position.



Now, why did they reject it?

For the very reason that those senators knew, as the President of the United States knew, that you should not indicate to the Communists in advance that you are going to surrender an area that is free. Why? Because they know as Senator Kennedy will have to know that if you do that, you encourage them to more aggression.

SHADEL: Senator Kennedy.

KENNEDY: Well, number one, on Indo-China Mr. Nixon talked before the newspaper editors in the spring of 1954 about putting, and I quote him, "American boys into Indo-China". The reason Indo-China was preserved was a result of the Geneva Conference which partitioned Indo-China.

Number two, on the question of the U-2 flights I thought the U-2 flight in May just before the conference was a mistake in timing because of the hazards involved if the summit conference had any hope for success. I never criticized the U-2 flights in general, however. I never suggested espionage should stop. It still goes on, I would assume, on both sides.

Number three, the Vice President on May 15, after the U-2 flight, indicated that the flights were going on even though the Administration and the President had canceled the flights on May 12.

Number four, the Vice President suggests that we should keep the Communists in doubt about whether we would fight on Quemoy or Matsu. That is not the position he is taking. He is indicating that we should fight for these islands come what may because they are, in his words, in the area of freedom. He didn't take that position on Tibet. He didn't take that position on Budapest. He doesn't take that position that I have seen so far in Laos, Guinea and Ghana have both moved within the Soviet sphere of influence in foreign policy. So has Cuba. I merely say that the United States should meet its commitments to Formosa and the Pescadores, but as Admiral Yarnell has said, and he has been supported by most military authorities, these islands that we are now talking about are not worth the bones of a single American soldier. And I know how difficult it is to sustain troops close to the shore under artillery bombardment, and therefore I think we should make it very clear the disagreement between Mr. Nixon and myself. He is extending the Administration's commitment.

SHADEL: Mr. Drummond's question is for Senator Kennedy.

#### KU KLUX KLAN

DRUMMOND: Mr. Kennedy, Representative Adam Clayton Powell in the course of his speaking tour in your behalf is saying, and I quote:

"The Ku Klux Klan is riding again in this campaign. If it does not stop, all bigots will vote for Nixon and all right-thinking Christians and Jews will vote for Kennedy rather than be found in the ranks of the Klan-minded;" end quotation.

Governor Michael DiSalle is saying much the same thing. What I would like to ask Senator Kennedy is, what is the purpose of this sort of thing, and how do you feel about it?

KENNEDY: Well, the question -- Mr. Griffin, I believe, who is the head of the Klan who lives in Tampa, Florida, indicated in a statement, I think two or three weeks ago, that he was not going to vote for me, and that he was going to vote for Mr. Nixon. I do not suggest in any way, nor have I ever, that that indicates that Mr. Nixon has the slightest sympathy, involvement or in any way imply any inferences in regard to Ku Klux Klan. That is absurd. I do not suggest that. I do not support it. I would disagree with it. Mr. Nixon knows very well that this whole matter has been involved in the so-called religious discussion in this campaign. I have never suggested even by the vaguest implication that he did anything but disapprove of it and that is my view now. I disapprove of the issue. I do not suggest that Mr. Nixon does in any way.

SHADEL: Mr. Vice President.

NIXON: Well, I welcome this opportunity to join Senator Kennedy completely on that statement, and to say before this largest television audience in history something that I have been saying in the past and want to -- will always say in the future.

On our last television debate I pointed out that it was my position that Americans must choose the best man that either party could produce. We can't settle for anything but the best. And that means, of course, the best man that this nation can produce, and that means that we can't have any tests of religion, we can't have any test of race. It must be a test of the man.

Also, as far as religion is concerned, I have seen communism abroad. I see what it does. Communism is the enemy of all religions, and we who do believe in God must join together. We must not be divided on this issue. The worst thing that I can think can happen in this campaign would be for it to be decided on religious issues. I obviously repudiate the Klan. I repudiate anybody who uses the religious issue. I will not tolerate it. I have ordered all of my people to have nothing to do with it, and I say to this great audience, whoever maybe listening, remember, if you believe in America, if you want America to set the right example to the world, that we cannot have religious or racial prejudice. We cannot have it in our hearts, but we certainly cannot have it in a presidential campaign.

SHADEL: Mr. McGee has a question for Vice President Nixon.

#### LABOR LAWS

McGEE: Mr. Vice President, some of your early campaign literature said you were making a study to see if new laws were needed to protect the public against excessive use of power by labor unions. Have you decided whether such new laws are needed and if so, what would they do?

NIXON: Mr. McGee, I am planning a speech on that subject next week. Also, so that we can get the opportunity for the questioners to question me, it will be before the next television debate.

I will say simply in advance of it, that I believe that in this area the laws which should be passed as far as the big national emergency strikes are concerned are ones that will give the President more weapons with which to deal with those strikes.

Now, I have a basic disagreement with Senator Kennedy, though, on this point. He has taken the position when he first indicated in October of last year that he would even favor compulsory arbitration as one of the weapons the President might have to stop a national emergency strike. I understand in his last speech before the Steel Workers Union that he changed that position and indicated that he felt that Government seizure might be the best way to stop a strike which could not be settled by collective bargaining.

I do not believe we should have either compulsory arbitration or seizure. I think the moment that you give to the union on the one side and to the management on the other side the escape hatch of eventually going to government to get it settled, that most of these great strikes will end up being settled by government and that will be, in the end, in my opinion, wage control, it will mean price control, all of the things that we do not want. I do believe, however, that we can give to the President of the United States powers in addition to what he presently has in the fact finding area which would enable him to be more effective than we have been in handling these strikes.

One last point I should make. The record in handling them has been very good during this Administration. We have had less manhours lost by strikes in these last seven years than we had in the previous seven years by a great deal, and I only want to say that however good the record is, it has got to be better, because in this critical year, period of the '60's, we have got to move forward. All Americans must move forward together, and we have to get the greatest cooperation possible between labor and management. We cannot afford stoppages of massive effect on the economy when we are in the terrible competition we are in with the Soviets.

SHADEL: Senator, your comment?

KENNEDY: Well, I always have difficulty recognizing my positions when they are stated by the Vice President. I never suggested that compulsory arbitration was the solution for national emergency disputes. I am opposed to that. I was opposed to it in October 1958. I have suggested that the President should be given other weapons to protect the national interest in case of national emergency strikes beyond the injunction provision of the Taft Hartley Act. I don't know what other weapons the Vice President is talking about.

I am talking about giving him four or five tools, not only the fact finding committee that he now has under the injunction provision, not only the injunction but also the power of the fact finding commission to make recommendations, recommendations which would not be binding but nevertheless would have great force of public opinion behind them.



One of the additional powers that I would suggest would be seizure. There might be others. By the President having five powers, four or five powers, and he only has very limited powers today, neither the company nor the union would be sure which power would be used, and, therefore, there would be a greater incentive on both sides to reach agreement themselves without taking it to the Government.

The difficulty now is the President's course is quite limited. He can set up a fact finding committee. The fact finding committee's powers are limited. He can provide an injunction if there is a national emergency for 80 days. Then the strike can go on and there are no other powers or actions that the President could take unless he went to the Congress. This is a difficult and sensitive matter. But to state my view precisely, the President should have a variety of things he could do. He could leave the parties in doubt as to which one he would use, and therefore there would be incentive instead of as now the steel companies were ready to take the strike because they felt the injunction of 80 days would break the union, which didn't happen.

SHADEL: The next question is by Mr. Cater for Senator Kennedy.

#### COST OF PROGRAMS

CATER: Mr. Kennedy -- Senator, Vice President Nixon says that he has costed the two party platforms and that yours would run at least \$10 billion a year more than his. You have denied his figures. He has called on you to supply your figures. Would you do that?

KENNEDY: Yes, I have stated in both debates and state again that I believe in a balanced budget and have supported that concept during my fourteen years in the Congress. The only two times when an unbalanced budget is warranted would be during a serious recession and we had that in '58, and an unbalanced budget of \$12 billion dollars, or a national emergency where there should be large expenditures for national defense, which we had in World War II, and during part of the Korean War. On the question of the cost of our budget, I have stated that it is my best judgment that our agricultural program will cost a billion and a half, possibly two billion dollars less than the present agricultural program.

My judgment is that the program the Vice President put forward, which is an extension of Mr. Benson's program, will cost a billion dollars more than the present program which costs about \$6 billion a year, the most expensive in history. We have spent more money on agriculture in the last eight years than the hundred years of the Agriculture Department before that.

Secondly, I believe that the high interest rate policies that this Administration has followed has added about \$3 billion a year to interest on the debt, merely funding the debt, which is a burden on the taxpayers. I would hope under a different monetary policy that it would be possible to reduce that interest rate burden, at least a billion dollars.

Thirdly, I think it is possible to gain a \$700 million to a billion through tax changes which I believe would close up loopholes, on dividend withholding, on expense accounts. Fourthly, I have suggested that the medical care for the aged and the bill which the Congress now has passed and the President signed, if fully implemented, would cost a billion dollars on the Treasury, out of the Treasury funds, and a billion dollars by the states. The proposal that I have put forward and which many of the members of my party support is for medical care financed under Social Security which would be financed under the Social Security Tax System which is less than 3 cents a day per person for medical care, doctor bills, nurses, hospitals, when they retire. It is actuarially sound. So in my judgment we would spend more money than this Administration on aid to education, we would spend more money on housing, we would spend more money and I hope more wisely on defense than this Administration has done. But I believe that the next Administration should work for a balanced budget and that would be my intention.

Mr. Nixon mis-states my figures constantly, which is, of course, his right, but the fact of the matter is, here is where I stand, and I just want to have it on the public record.

SHADEL: Mr. Vice President.

NIXON: Senator Kennedy has indicated on several occasions in this program tonight that I have been mis-stating his records and his figures. I will issue a white paper after this

broadcast quoting exactly what he said on compulsory arbitration, for example, and the record will show that I have been correct.

Now, as far as his figures are concerned here tonight, he again is engaging in this -- what I would call mirror game of here it is and here it isn't. On the one hand, for example, he suggests that as far as his medical care program is concerned, that that really is not a problem because it is from Social Security. But Social Security is a tax. The people pay it. It comes right out of your pay check. This does not mean that the people are not going to be paying the bill. He also indicates as far as his agricultural program is concerned that he feels it will cost less than ours. Well, all that I can suggest is that all the experts who have studied the program indicate that it is the most fantastic program, the worst program insofar as its effect on the farmers that America has ever had foisted upon it in an election year, or any other time. And I would also point out that Senator Kennedy left out a part of the cost of that program, a 25 percent rise in food prices that the people would have to pay. Now, are we going to have that when it is not going to help the farmers? I don't think we should have that kind of a program. Then he goes on to say that he is going to change the interest rate situation and we are going to get some more money that way.

Well, what he is saying there, in effect, we are going to have inflation. We are going to go right back to what we had under Mr. Truman when he had political control of the Federal Reserve Board.

I do not believe we ought to pay our bills through inflation, through a phony interest rate.

SHADEL: Next, Mr. Drummond's question for Vice President Nixon.

#### ECONOMIC GROWTH

DRUMMOND: Mr. Nixon, before the convention, you and Governor Rockefeller said jointly that the nation's economic growth ought to be accelerated, and the Republican platform states that the nation needs to quicken the pace of economic growth. Is it fair, therefore, Mr. Vice President, to conclude that you feel that there has been insufficient economic growth during the past eight years, and if so, what would you do beyond present Administration policies to step it up?

NIXON: Mr. Drummond, I am never satisfied with the economic growth of this country. I am not satisfied with it even if there were no communism in the world, but particularly when we are in the kind of a race we are in, we have got to see that America grows just as fast as we can, provided we grow soundly, because even though we have maintained, as I pointed out in our first debate, the absolute gap over the Soviet Union, even though the growth in this Administration has been twice as much as it was in the Truman Administration, that isn't good enough, because America must be able to grow enough not only to take care of our needs at home for better education and housing and health, all these things we want. We have got to grow enough to maintain the forces that we have abroad and to wage the nonmilitary battle for the world, in Asia and Africa and Latin America.

It is going to cost more money, and growth will help us to win that battle.

Now, what do we do about it? And here I believe basically that what we have to do is to stimulate that sector of America, the private enterprise sector of the economy, in which there is the greatest possibility for expansion. So that is why I advocate a program of tax reform which will stimulate more investment in our economy.

In addition to that, we have to move on other areas that are holding back growth.

I refer, for example, to distressed areas. We have to move into those areas with programs so that we make adequate use of the resources of those areas.

We also have to see that all of the people of the United States, the tremendous talents that our people have, are used adequately.

That is why in this whole area of civil rights the equality of opportunity for employment and education is not just for the benefit of the minority groups. It is for the benefit of the nation, so that we can get the scientists and the engineers and all the rest that we need. And in addition to that, we need programs particularly in higher education, which will stimulate scientific breakthroughs which will bring more growth.

Now, what all this, of course, adds up to is this: America has not been standing still. Let's get that straight. Anybody who says America has been standing still for the last 7 1/2 years has not been traveling around America. He has been traveling in some other country. We have been moving. We have been moving much faster than we did in the Truman years. But we can and must move faster, and that is why I stand so strongly for programs that will move America forward in the sixties, move her forward so that we can stay ahead of the Soviet Union and win the battle for freedom and peace.

SHADEL: Senator Kennedy.

KENNEDY: Well, first may I correct a statement which was made before that under my agricultural program food prices would go up twentyfive percent. That's untrue.

The farmer who grows wheat gets about two and a half cents on the twenty-five cent loaf of bread. Even if you put his income up ten percent, that would be two and three-quarters percent or three cents out of that twenty-five cents. The man who grows tomatoes, it costs less for those tomatoes than it does for the label on the can, and I believe when the average hour for any farmer's wage is about fifty cents an hour he should do better, and anybody who suggests that that program would come to any figure indicated by the Vice President is in error.

The Vice President suggested a number of things. He suggested that we aid distressed areas. The Administration has vetoed that bill passed by Congress twice.

He suggested we pass an aid to education bill. The Administration and the Republican majority in the Congress has opposed any realistic aid to education, and the Vice President cast a deciding vote against Federal aid for teachers' salaries in the Senate which prevented that being added.

This Administration and this country last year had the lowest rate of economic growth, which means jobs, of any major industrialized society in the world in 1959, and when we have to find 25,000 new jobs a week for the next ten years, we are going to have to grow more.

Governor Rockefeller says five percent. The Democratic platform and others say five percent. Many say four and a half percent. The last eight years the average growth has been about two and a half percent. That is why we don't have full employment today.

#### DEPLETION ALLOWANCE

SHADEL: Mr. McGee has the next question for Senator Kennedy.

McGEE: Senator Kennedy, a moment ago you mentioned tax loopholes. Now your running mate, Senator Lyndon Johnson, is from Texas, an oil-producing state and one that many political leaders feel is in doubt in this election year, and reports from there say that oil men in Texas are seeking assurance from Senator Johnson that the oil depletion allowance will not be cut. The Democratic platform pledges to plug loopholes in the tax laws and refers to inequitable depletion allowances as being conspicuous loopholes.

My question is, do you consider the twenty-seven and a half percent depletion allowance inequitable, and would you ask that it be cut?

KENNEDY: Mr. McGee, there are about 104 commodities that have some kind of depletion allowance, different kinds of minerals including oil. I believe all of those should be gone over in detail to make sure that no one is getting a tax break, to make sure that no one is getting away from paying the taxes he ought to pay. That includes oil, it includes all kinds of minerals. It includes everything within the range of taxation. We want to be sure it is fair and equitable. It includes oil abroad. Perhaps that oil abroad should be treated differently than the oil here at home.

Now, the oil industry recently has had hard times, particularly some of the smaller producers. They are moving about eight or nine days in Texas. But I can assure you that if I am elected President, the whole spectrum of taxes will be gone through carefully, and if there is any inequities in oil or any other commodity, then I would vote to close that loophole. I have voted in the past to reduce the depletion allowance for the largest producers, for those from \$5 million down to maintain it at twenty-seven and a half percent.

I believe we should study this and other allowances, tax expense, dividend expenses and all the rest, and make a deter-

mination of how we can stimulate growth, how we can provide the revenues needed to move our country forward.

SHADEL: Mr. Vice President?

NIXON: Senator Kennedy's position and mine are completely different on this. I favor the present depletion allowance. I favor it not because I want to make a lot of oilmen rich, but because I want to make America rich.

Why do we have a depletion allowance? Because this is the stimulation, the incentive, for companies to go out and explore for oil, to develop it. If we didn't have a depletion allowance, of certainly I believe the present amount, we would have our oil exploration cut substantially in this country.

Now, as far as my position then is concerned, it is exactly opposite to the Senator's, and it is because of my belief that if America is going to have the growth that he talks about and that I talk about and that we want, the thing to do is not to discourage individual enterprise, not to discourage people to go out and discover more oil and minerals, but to encourage them. And so he would be doing exactly the wrong thing.

One other thing. He suggests that there are a number of other items in this whole depletion field that can be taken into account. He also said a moment ago that we would get more money to finance his programs by revising the tax laws including depletion.

I should point out that as far as depletion allowances are concerned, the oil depletion allowance is one that provides 80 percent of all of those involved in depletion. So you are not going to get much from revenue insofar as depletion allowances are concerned unless you move in the area that he indicated.

But I oppose it. I oppose it for the reasons that I mentioned. I oppose it because I want us to have more oil exploration and not less.

SHADEL: Gentlemen, if I may remind you, time is growing short, so please keep your questions and answers as brief as possible consistent with clarity.

Mr. Von Fremd for Vice President Nixon.

#### EXPORTS-IMPORTS

VON FREMD: Mr. Vice President, in the past three years there has been an exodus of more than \$4 billion of gold from the United States, apparently for two reasons, because exports have slumped and have not covered imports and because of increased American investments abroad.

If you were President, how would you go about stopping this departure of gold from our shores?

NIXON: Mr. Von Fremd, the first thing we have to do is to continue to keep confidence abroad in the American dollar. That means that we must continue to have a balanced budget here at home in every possible circumstance that we can, because the moment that we have loss of confidence in our own fiscal policies at home, it results in gold flowing out.

Secondly, we have to increase our exports as compared with our imports, and here we have a very strong program going forward in the Department of Commerce. This one must be stepped up.

Beyond that, as far as the gold supply is concerned, and as far as the movement of gold is concerned, we have to bear in mind that we must get more help from our allies abroad in this great venture in which all free men are involved of winning the battle for freedom.

Now, America has been carrying a tremendous load in this respect. I think we have been right in carrying it.

I have favored our programs abroad for economic assistance and for military assistance. But now we find that the countries of Europe, for example, that we have aided, and Japan, that we have aided in the Far East, these countries, some our former enemies, some our friends, have now recovered completely. They have got to bear a greater share of this load of economic assistance abroad. That is why I am advocating and will develop during the course of the next administration, if, of course I get the opportunity, a program in which we enlist more aid from these other countries on a concerted basis in the programs of economic development for Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The United States cannot continue to carry the major share of this burden by itself. We can carry a big share of it, but we have got to have more help from our friends abroad and these three factors I think will be very helpful in reversing the gold flow which you spoke about.

SHADEL: Senator Kennedy.

KENNEDY: Just to correct the record, Mr. Nixon said on depletion that his record was the opposite of mine. What I said was that this matter should be thoroughly gone into to make sure that there aren't loop holes. If his record is the opposite of that, that means that he does not want to go into it. Now, on the question of the gold, the difficulty of course is that we do have heavy obligations abroad, that we therefore have to maintain not only a favorable balance of trade, but also send a good deal of our dollars overseas to pay our troops, maintain our bases and sustain other economies.

In other words, if we are going to continue to maintain our position in the sixties, we've got to maintain a sound monetary and fiscal policy, we have to have control over inflation, and we also have to have a favorable balance of trade.

We have to be able to compete with the world market. We have to be able to sell abroad more than we consume from abroad if we are going to be able to meet our obligation.

In addition, many of the countries around the world still keep restrictions against our goods, going all the way back to the days when there was a dollar shortage.

Now, there isn't a dollar shortage and yet many of these countries continue to move against our goods.

I believe that we must be able to compete in the market, in steel and in all the basic commodities abroad, we must be able to compete against them because we always did because of our technological leads. We have to be sure to maintain that. We have to persuade these other countries not to restrict our goods from coming in, not to act as if there was a dollar gap and third, we have to persuade them to assume some of the responsibilities that up until now we have maintained to assist underdeveloped countries in Africa, Latin America and Asia making an economic breakthrough on their own.

SHADEL: Mr. Drummond's question now for Senator Kennedy.

#### AMERICAN PRESTIGE

DRUMMOND: Senator Kennedy, a question on American prestige.

In light of the fact that the Soviet Ambassador was recently expelled from the Congo, and that Mr. Khrushchev has this week canceled his trip to Cuba for fear of stirring resentment throughout all Latin America, I would like to ask you to spell out somewhat more fully how you think we should measure American prestige to determine whether it is rising or whether it is falling.

KENNEDY: Well, I think there are many tests, Mr. Drummond, of prestige, and the significance of prestige really is because we are so identified with the cause of freedom, therefore, if we are on the mount, if we are rising, if our influence is spreading, if our prestige is spreading, then those who stand now on the razor edge of decision between us or between the Communist system wondering whether they should use the system of freedom to develop their countries or the system of communism, they will be persuaded to follow our example.

There have been several indications that our prestige is not as high as it once was. Mr. George Allen, the head of our information service, said that as a result of our being second in space in the Sputnik in 1957, and I quote him, I believe I paraphrase him accurately; he said that many of these countries equate space development with scientific productivity and scientific advancement, and therefore he said many of these countries now feel that the Soviet Union, which was once so backwards, is now on a par with the United States.

Secondly, the economic growth of the Soviet Union is greater than ours. Mr. Dulles has suggested it is from two to three times as great as ours. This has a great effect on the undeveloped world which faces problems of low income and high population density and inadequate resources.

Three, a Gallup poll taken in February asked people in ten countries which country they thought would be first in 1970, both scientifically and militarily, and a majority in every country except Greece felt that it would be the Soviet Union by 1970.

Fourth, in the votes at the UN, particularly the vote dealing with Red China last Saturday, we received the support on the position that we had taken of only two African countries, one Liberia which has been tied to us for more than a century and the other the Union of South Africa, which is not a popular country in Africa. Every other African country either abstained or

voted against us. More countries voted against us in Asia on this issue than voted with us.

On the neutralist resolution which we were so much opposed to, the same thing happened. The candidate who was a candidate for the President of Brazil took a trip to Cuba to call on Mr. Castro during the election in order to get the benefit of the Castro supporters within Brazil. There are many indications.

Guinea and Ghana, two independent countries within the last three years, Guinea in '57, Ghana within the last eighteen months, both now are supporting Soviet foreign policy at the UN. Mr. Herter said so himself. Laos is moving in that direction.

So I would say our prestige is not so high. No longer do we give the image of being on the rise. No longer do we give an image of vitality.

SHADEL: Mr. Vice President?

NIXON: Well, I would say first of all that Senator Kennedy's statement that he has just made is not going to help our Gallup polls abroad and it isn't going to help our prestige either. Let's look at the other side of the coin. Let's look at the vote on the Congo. The vote was 70 to nothing against the Soviet Union. Let's look at the situation with regard to economic growth as it really is. We find that the Soviet Union is a very primitive economy. Its growth rate is not what counts. It is whether it is catching up with us, and it is not catching up with us. We are well ahead and we can stay ahead provided we have confidence in America and don't run her down in order to build her up.

We could look, also, at the other items which Senator Kennedy has named.

But I will only conclude by saying this: In this whole matter of prestige in the final analysis it is whether you stand for what is right, and getting back to this matter that we discussed at the outset, the matter of Quemoy and Matsu, I can think of nothing that will be a greater blow to the prestige of the United States among the free nations in Asia than for us to take Senator Kennedy's advice, to go against what a majority of the members of the Senate, both Democrat and Republican, did and said in 1955 and to say in advance we will surrender an area to the Communists.

In other words, if the United States is going to maintain its strength and its prestige, we must not only be strong militarily and economically. We must be firm diplomatically. Certainly we have been speaking, I know, of whether we should have retreat or defeat. Let's remember that the way to win is not to retreat and not to surrender.

SHADEL: Thank you, gentlemen.

As we mentioned at the opening of this program the candidates agreed that the clock alone would determine who had the last word. The two candidates wish to thank the networks for the opportunity to appear for this discussion.

I would repeat the ground rules, likewise agreed upon by representatives of the two candidates and the radio and television networks. The entire hour was devoted to answering questions from the reporters. Each candidate was questioned in turn and each had the opportunity to comment on the answer of his opponent. The reporters were free to ask any question on any subject. Neither candidate was given any advance information on any question that would be asked.

Those were the conditions agreed upon for this third meeting of the candidates tonight.

Now, I might add that also agreed upon was the fact that when the hour got down to the last few minutes, if there was not sufficient time left for another question and suitable time for answer and comment, the questioning would end at that point. That is the situation at this moment. And after reviewing the rules for this evening, I might use the remaining few moments of the hour to tell you something about the other arrangements for this debate with the participants a continent apart. I would emphasize first that each candidate was in a studio alone except for three photographers and three reporters of the press and the television technicians. Those studios identical in every detail of lighting, background, physical equipment, even to the paint used in decorating. We newsmen in the third studio have also experienced a somewhat similar isolation.

Now, I would remind you, the fourth in the series of these historic joint appearances is scheduled for Friday, October 21st. At that time the candidates will again share the same platform to discuss foreign policy.

This is Bill Shadel. Good night.





**Party Unity** Despite the usual election-year tendency to close ranks and display more partisanship in Congress, an opposite trend appeared in Congressional Quarterly's study of Party Unity in 1960. The percentage of roll calls on which a majority of Democrats in both chambers opposed a majority of Republicans decreased from 50 percent in 1959 to 42 percent in 1960. The average Democratic Member voted with the majority of his party -- that is, displayed Party Unity -- 64 percent of the time in 1960; the average Republican Member 68 percent of the time. (Page 1723)

## Midwestern Election Outlook

Congressional Quarterly's survey of Senate, House and Governorship seats in the 12 Midwestern states indicated Republicans might regain some of the House seats they lost in the Democratic sweep of 1958. Democrats, however, have a good chance to cut further into the ranks of Republican Senators and Governors in the heartland of the GOP. A "cooling off" of the farm issue, combined with indications of anti-Catholic sentiment, was reported aiding Republicans in the farm belt, while spots of unemployment and pro-Catholic sentiment aided Democrats in Midwestern industrial states. (Page 1728)

## Presidential Politics

Congressional Quarterly this week carries the text of the third Nixon-Kennedy debate and Census Bureau figures of Negroes of voting age by state. Other events: Nixon-Lodge disagreements over federal aid to private and parochial schools and over the possible appointment of a Negro to the Cabinet; Nixon and Kennedy would both "use" President Eisenhower; Johnson tour of South. (Pages 1746-1759)

## Capitol Briefs

Thurman A. Whiteside was acquitted of charges that he had conspired with Richard A. Mack in an FCC decision...Bernard Goldfine was ruled mentally incompetent to stand trial for alleged income tax evasion...Railroads and rail unions agreed to submit their long-standing work rules dispute to a Presidential commission...First steps were taken to establish a "National Roster of Revoked Operators' Licenses" authorized by Congress this year...This issue also contains the complete texts of President Eisenhower's speeches this week in Detroit and Red Wing, Minn. (Page 1748-1751)

### Safe Candidates

The election campaign may be fraught with uncertainties for some Congressional candidates, but a sizable number already can consider themselves elected. CQ research shows four Democratic Senators, 74 Democratic Representatives and two GOP House Members certain of reelection. Two non-incumbent Democratic candidates also are unopposed. Once again the majority of unopposed Democratic House candidates are from the South, but there the scene of battle has shifted. (Page 1752)

## The Farm Issue

On the farm issue in the 1960 Presidential election, the two Presidential candidates are offering voters a clear choice between directly contrasting philosophies of public action. A Congressional Quarterly study published this week describes the farm problem and existing Government programs to deal with it and outlines the policies Vice President Nixon and Senator Kennedy say they would adopt on farm issues if elected President. Another section of the Fact Sheet estimates the size of the farm population in each state and outlines some of the factors that may affect farmer voting. (Page 1739)

### Voting Records

Now that the Congressional election contests are heating up, many a campaign manager is "looking at the record". The only complete and convenient tabulations of the roll-call voting records of each Member of the House and Senate are prepared by Congressional Quarterly -- \$12.50 per Member per year for CQ subscribers. Call or write to the CQ Query Service.



